

**T**HIS Edition is much more Correct than that of *London*, having been compared with two *Manuscripts*, in his Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop's Library, in one of which his Grace has Writ these Words with his own Hand, which we set down here for the Readers Satisfaction.

**T**HIS Vindication, as I was Inform'd by the Late Lord *Clarendon*, was Writ by his Father Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* (if I remember right) at *Cologne*, with the Assistance of the Duke of *Ormond*, and by the help of *Memoirs* furnish'd by the said Duke, I had it from Captain *Baxter*, a Servant, I think Steward to the Duke of *Ormond*, in the Year 1686.

*Will. Dublin.*

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*Will. Dublin.*

Hyde  
THE

809. p. 18.

# HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION and CIVIL WARS.

IN

IRELAND,

WITH

The true State and Condition of that Kingdom before the Year 1640; and the most material Passages and Actions which since that Time have contributed to the Calamities it hath undergone.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

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*Obsequium Amicos, Veritas Odium parit. Ter.*

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DUBLIN : Printed for Patrick Dugan  
Bookseller on Cork-Hill, 1719-20.

## ENT

# 21170

REVELATION AND CIVIL WARS

REBELS

the true State and the true Nation. The true State and the true Nation are those which are based on the principles of justice and equity, and which are founded on the basis of the rights of the people. The true State and the true Nation are those which are based on the principles of justice and equity, and which are founded on the basis of the rights of the people.

Witnessed by the Right Honorable

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON

DUBLIN: Printed for Patrick Dwyer,  
Bookbinder on Cork-Hill, 1712-20.

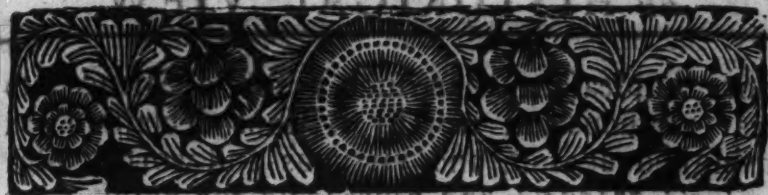
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AN  
HISTORICAL VIEW  
OF THE  
Affairs of IRELAND.

*Jer.* CHAP. ii. ver. 14, 15, 16, 17.

*Is Israel a Servant? is he a home-born slave? why is he spoiled?*

*The young lions roared upon him, and yelled, and they made his land waste: his cities are burnt without inhabitant.*

*Also the children of Noph and Tahapanes have broken the crown of thy head.*

*Hast thou not procured this unto thy self, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way?*



*Will speak that I may be refreshed,* The Pre-  
saith the Wisest and least faulty of face of the  
Job's Friends, when he was wearied and tired with the Impertinence  
and Insolence of the others, *Eloquar*  
Author.

*ut Respiratio sit mihi,* saith our Latin Translation, I will speak that I may breathe. It is a very great Pain to hear Men speak ignorantly or wickedly, and not to have Liberty to controul or disprove them; no Suffocation can be

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more

more unpleasant than such a forc'd Silence; to hear virtuous and worthy Actions declaim'd and inveighed against, and virtuous and worthy Men censur'd, traduc'd and reproach'd for doing what they ought, and by their Duty are oblig'd to do, whilst unlawful and sinful Actions are justify'd, commended, and their Abettors magnify'd and extoll'd; and not to reply to those malicious Discourses: To be forc'd to hear our natural Sovereign (an innocent and pious Prince) slander'd and accus'd with Reproaches, Calumnies, Lyes, and Aspertions, notoriously false, and easily made to appear to be so: To hear God himself prophan'd and blasphem'd, His Omnipotence question'd and slighted, His Justice disputed, and His Anger derided: To hear Murther, Treason, and Rebellion vindicated and maintain'd, as committed and propagated by the Infusion and Direction of his Spirit, his blessed Name invoc'd and challeng'd, for Defence and Support of such a Mass of Wickedness, and not to open a Man's Mouth against the horrid Blasphemy, is not only more Vexation, Grief, and Torment of Mind, but really more sharp, sensible, and piercing Pain to the Mind and nobler Parts of a wise and honest Man, than what the outward Limbs are subject to by the Gout, Tooth-ach, or Rack it self. Never Age subjected Man to this kind of Trouble and Pain more than this present; when, to the Persecution that good Men undergo in the Loss of their Fortunes and Lives, in their Banishment from their Friends, their Families, and their Country, the Wants and Necessities which naturally attend that sad Condition, this Circumstance is added, (a Circumstance which most Persecutions have been without) that they are pursu'd with Reproaches of not having done their Parts in resisting the rude Torrent which hath over-borne them (when they bear all the honourable Marks of doing and suffering) oftentimes with Calumnies of a baser Allay,

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of complying with the publick Enemy, when (next to the Publick) their Particular Merit and Virtue have been with the greatest Envy, Malice, and Fury detested and persecuted by those Enemies, and with such other Scandals and unworthy Aspersions, as may alienate the Affections of the Beholders, and deprive them of that Compassion, Honour and Justice, which is due from all the World to their Courage, Wisdom and Integrity. And this kind of effeminate Distemper too often rageth in the Breasts of those, who came, in some Degree, to be just Sufferers with the other in the common Calamities; who having been originally guilty of making those Breaches, at which, greater, or rather, other, Wickedness have broken in, than, it may be, at first was intended, instead of acknowledging their own Folly and Madnes, labour rather to traduce those who hinder them from prevailing, than to oppose the other who prevail'd farther than they desir'd they should have done.

**T**HERE needs no other Instance, how many more soever may be given, of this pe-  
 tulant and unchristian Humour, than the  
 Licence which hath been, and still is taken by  
 some of the *Romish* Clergy of the *Irish* Nation,  
 (in some printed Pamphlets, whereby they would  
 move the Christian World to take Compassion  
 on them) to lay Aspersions and unworthy Impu-  
 tations upon the King, who is in Heaven, who  
 us'd all imaginable Princely Endeavours to have  
 reduc'd and preserv'd them, after they had most  
 rebelliously provok'd him, and upon his Majesty  
 that now is, (whose faithful Subjects they seem to  
 desire to be thought and accounted) and upon  
 the Marquess of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant  
 of that Kingdom, who (having serv'd their Maje-  
 sties with the greatest Courage and Magnanimi-

*The Occa-  
 sion of this  
 Treatise.*

ty, and upon the most abstracted Considerations of Honour and Conscience, and thereby struck so great a Reverence of his Virtues, even into his Enemies, that tho' they hated and feared him most, yet they have never reproach'd or revil'd him) is now forc'd, by some unquiet and unworthy Spirits of his own Country, to undergo those *Flagella lingua*, the Strokes of the Tongue, from which only the Omnipotence of Almighty God himself can hide and preserve the most upright and most excellent Persons: And tho' the old Receipt of *Spreta exolefcunt*, may to many seem fit to be apply'd to these odious Ebullitions; and that to take the least Notice of such lewd Discourses, (which flow from no other Fountain but that of Malice and Ignorance) is to do them too much Credit: Yet since the Judgment of the most upright and wisest Men may be corrupted by mistaking the Matter of Fact, and since the titular Bishop of *Ferns* (for it will be no Presumption to say, tho' the Pope may make Bishops, he cannot dispose of Bishopricks within the King of *Great-Britain's* Dominions) hath thought fit to publish a little Book in his own Name, and industriously to disperse the same into all Parts, and among such Persons who can be presumed to know little of the Affairs of *Ireland*, otherways than they are inform'd; and in that Book to lay many Reproaches upon his own lawful Sovereign, and most untruly to traduce the Person of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, the Marquess of *Ormond*, (whom his Lordship ought not to Name without Reverence) and in such a Manner, as if he were the Mouth, and spake the Words of the whole Nation: I have not only thought it a Debt to Truth and Justice, but a Respect to that unhappy and oppress'd Nation, (of which very many noble Persons have behav'd themselves with notable Fidelity to their Prince) and even an Act

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of Charity to the *Roman* Catholick Faith, (which may undergo some Scandal from the Licence and Distemper of such Discourses) to endeavour to preserve the Minds of Men from being wrought upon by those Infusions, and corrupted by those Misinformations.

For the beter doing thereof, it will be necessary to take a brief View of the true State and Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, before the Year 1640, and of those material Passages which since that time have, in the Opinion of the Bishop, or in Truth, contributed to the full Calamity which it now undergoes, by which it will be easily discern'd where the Fault hath been, and from whence the Misfortune hath proceeded. In doing whereof, I shall alledge no Matter of Fact, of which there is not unquestionable Evidence, or make any Deductions or Conclusions which do not naturally result from these Actions, leaving the History of the memorable Acts which have pass'd on either Side, in the Managery of that War, to those who have better Means and Skill to compile the same, having in truth no other End in this Work, than to vindicate the most just Person from the most unreasonable Calumnies; to undeceive those who are impos'd upon by Untruths, and (if it be possible) yet to incline the Deceivers to those ingenuous and christian Courses which can best advance their own Pretensions and real Interest. It is not the Bishop's calling the ten Years War in *Ireland*, *Sanctum, justissimum Bellum*, or his saying they have undergone the most constant and severe Persecution for the Profession of the Catholick Religion for the space of thirteen Years, that can make the happy and blessed Condition forgotten, which that Nation was possess'd of before their own (to say no worse) unskilful Rage and Fury brought this War upon them. They have now

*The happy  
Condition  
of Ireland  
before the  
Year 1640*

Leisure enough, and I hope Spirits better prepared, to value the wonderful Plenty, Peace, and Security they enjoy'd till the Year 1640, when they wantonly and disdainfully flung those Blessings from them; The Increase of Traffick, Improvement of Land, Erection of Buildings, and whatsoever else might be profitable and pleasant to a People, which were Advantages and Ornaments that the Policy and Industry of that Nation was utterly unacquainted with, till they were acquir'd by the Skill and Labour of the *English* planted, and living charitably, friendly, and hospitably among them: Taxes, Tallages, and Contributions were things hardly known to them by their names: Whatsoever their Land, Labour or Industry produc'd, was their own, being not only free from Fear of having it taken from them by the King upon any Pretence whatsoever without their own Consent, but also secur'd against Thieves and Robbers, by due Execution of good Laws, that Men might and did travel over all the Parts of the Kingdom with great Sums of Money, unguarded and unconcealed. If this precious State of Affairs be, or was undervalued under the Notion of being but temporal Blessings and Want of Freedom alledged in the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion to which that Nation was generally addicted, it cannot be denied but (though by the Laws and Constitution of that Kingdom the Power and Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is not in any Degree allowed, or submitted unto) the whole Nation enjoyed an undisturbed Exercise of their Religion, and even in *Dublin* (where the Seat of the King's chief Governour was) they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their Devotions, as he went to his: The Bishops, Priests, and all Degrees and Orders of Secular and Regular Clergy, were known to be, and exercised their Functions amongst them; and tho' there

were

were some Laws against them still in Force, which Necessity, and the Wisdom of former Ages had caused to be enacted, to suppress those acts of Treason and Rebellion which the People frequently fell into, and the Policy of present Times kept unrepealed, to prevent the like Distempers and Designs; yet the Edge of those Laws was so totally rebated by the Clemency and Compassion of the King, that no Man could say he had suffered Prejudice or Disturbance in, or for his Religion, which is another kind of Indulgence than Subjects professing a Faith contrary to what is established by the Law of the Land can boast of, in any other Kingdom of the World. In this blessed Condition of Peace and Security the *English* and *Irish*, the Protestant and *Roman* Catholick, lived mingled together in all Provinces of the Kingdom, quietly trafficking with one another during the whole happy Reign of King *James*; and from his Death, every Degree of their Happiness was increased and improved under the Government of his late Majesty. As long as they contained themselves within the Bounds of Duty and Allegiance towards him, the Wealth of the Kingdom was exceedingly increased by the Importation of great Store of Money, wonderful Increase of Trade, several new and profitable Manufactories were introduced and erected, whereby the Inhabitants were set on Work, and the Land generally improved, by applying it to several Sorts of good Husbandry which that People had been utterly unacquainted with. The *Roman* Catholick Landlords had Protestant Tenants, and many Protestant Landlords *Roman* Catholick Tenants. Friendships and Marriages were frequently contracted between them, and all Passion, at least, all visible Animosities, which flow from the Differences of those Professions, laid aside or suppressed, till in the Year 1640, when they discerned some Distemper arising in *England*

*The Seeds  
of the Ci-  
vil War in  
Ireland.*

*The Mas-  
sacre.*

upon the *Scots* Invasion, and the Support and Countenance that People found in both Houses of Parliament, they would likewise bear a Part, and bring in their Contribution to the Work in Hand. Then they begin to transplant those Humours of Jealousies and Discontents which they found springing seditiously in both Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, into *Ireland*, and with the same Passion and Distemper cherished them in the other at *Dublin*. So they accused upon general and unreasonable Imputations, several Counsellors and Ministers of State which were trusted by the Crown in that Kingdom; and thereby, according to the Rule then unjustly prescrib'd at *Westminster*, removed those Persons from any Power over the Affairs there, whose Wisdom might probably else have prevented the Mischiefs which have since ensued. Then they conspire childishly with the greatest Enemies their Nation or Religion had, against the Life of the late Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, by whose Wisdom and Government that Kingdom had reaped great Advantages, and was daily receiving greater, and sent a Committee from *Dublin* to *Westminster*, to join in Prosecution of him; and having in the End procur'd the miserable (and never to be enough lamented) Ruin of that great Person, they powerfully oppos'd and hinder'd the conferring of that Charge upon any of those his Majesty had design'd it to, and got it devolv'd into such Hands as were most unlike to grapple with the Difficulties they were sure to meet with; and having thus, to their utmost Power, fomented their Divisions in *England*, and discountenanced and weaken'd the Royal Power in *Ireland*, by raising the same Faction against it there, on a sudden, upon the 23<sup>d</sup>. of *October*, 1641, without so much as the least Pretence of a Quarrel or Hostility so much as apprehended by the Protestants, great Multitudes of

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the *Irish Roman* Catholicks in the Province of *Ulster*, and shortly after in other Provinces and Parts of the Kingdom, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in Arms, seized upon the Towns, Castles, and Houses belonging to the Protestants, which by their Force they could possess themselves of, and with most barbarous Circumstances of Cruelty, within the Space of less than ten Days, murdered an incredible Number of Protestants, Men, Women, and Children promiscuously without Distinction of Age or Sex, of any who were within the Reach of their Power. They who escaped best were robbed of all they had to their very Shirts, and so turned naked to indure the Sharpness of the Season; and by that Means, and for want of Relief, many Thousands of them perished by Hunger and Cold. The Design which at the same time was laid for the Surprize of the Castle of *Dublin* (the Residence of the King's chief Governour, and his Majesty's principal Magazine of Arms and Ammunition wherewith it was then plentifully stored) being discovered by a Person trusted, and thereby disappointed, that Place was left securely to consult of the best Means to oppose that Torrent which was like to overwhelm the Kingdom; and for Refuge of the Protestants, who from all Parts of the Kingdom flocked thither, despoiled, robbed and stripped, with the sad Relation of the most inhuman Cruelty and Murders exercised upon their Friends, Kindred and Neighbours, which have ever been heard of among Christians; and in that Manner, and with these Circumstances, began that War which the Bishop calls Just and Holy.

It is not the Purpose of this Discourse to lay the Imputation of this Rebellion and savage Cruelty upon all the *Irish* and Catholicks of that Kingdom, of whom many Persons of Honour were never in the least Degree tainted with that Cor-

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*The Irish*  
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ruption, but on the contrary, have always given as signal Testimonies of their Affections and Duty to the King, and of their Detestation of that odious and bloody Defection as any of his Subjects of either of his Majesty's other Kingdoms have done, whose Memory must with equal Justice and Care be transmitted to Posterity as precious Examples of Honour and Integrity. Others were by the Passion and Rigour of those who were then in Authority, (and had Power enough to destroy whom they had Inclination enough to suspect or accuse) driven to put themselves into the Protection of those whose Ways and Courses they totally disapproved; and many who were by Misinformation and Misbelief engaged in the carrying on, and possibly in the contriving of the War and Insurrection, were Enemies to those Actions of bloody Rapine and Inhumanity which dishonour any War, and grew quickly willing to repair the Breaches they had made, and to return to the Duty which they had violated; but it is neither impertinent nor uncharitable to beseech those of that Nation, whether Clergy or Laity, who in respect of the present Weight of Calamities, under which they are oppressed, be more worthy of Compassion, to remember, that tho' they now continue the War with Innocency and Justice, they first entered into it with extreme Guilt, and prosecuted it with extreme and unnecessary Cruelty; and that tho' they now lawfully defend themselves, their Country and their King against the worst and most merciless of Tyrants, they never had been driven to these Exigences, or undergone these Devouring Afflictions, if they had not first unreasonably and wickedly rebelled against the best and most merciful of Kings; and their bewailing and heartily lamenting that first Transgression, is like to be the most Christian and Catholick Expedient to perswade God Almighty to protect and

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and relieve them in their present Sufferings and intolerable Pressures, and the contrary and most unpracticable Temper, of defending and justifying the War from the Beginning, to be most just and holy; and that most horrible Rage and Fury in the Prosecution of it, to be the pious Means of upholding and carrying on that most just and holy War, may probably indispose that Providence from taking any Pity on them, or preserving them from total Extirpation.

One Circumstance of unhappy and impious Policy must not be forgotten, by which the bold Authors of that unnatural War in the first Entrance into it, promised to themselves notable Advantages; and which in truth (as most of the Policy of that Kind usually is turned to the Ruine of the Politician) brought unspeakable Misery and Devastation upon that whole Country and Nation. For the better inducing the People (who, having lived long in Peace and Amity with the *English*, were not without some Reverence to that Government, and so would not in plain and direct Terms be easily led into a direct Rebellion against their King) they not only declared, and with great Skill and Industry published through the Kingdom, That they took Arms for the King, and Defence of his lawful Prerogative, against the Puritan Parliament of *England*, which, they said, invaded it in many Parts; and that what they did, was by his Majesty's Consent, Approbation and Authority; and to that Purpose produced and shewed a Commission to which they had fastened an Impression of the Great Seal of *England*, which they had taken off from some Grant or Patent which had regularly and legally past; and so it was not hard to perswade weak and unexperienc'd Persons, that it was a true and real Commission from the King; and by this foul Stratagem, they cast so odious an Imputation upon the

*A foul  
Stratagem  
of the I-  
rish.*

the King, and upon those Persons who were wor-  
*The Fatal* thly nearest his Affections and Council (the fe-  
*Consequen-* ditious Party in *England*, who were then contri-  
*ces of it.* ving all the Mischief they have since brought to  
 pass, using all their Arts to propagate those horri-  
 ble Calumnies, and to infuse into the Hearts of  
 the People an Irreverence and Jealousy of the  
 King, Queen, and those of nearest Trust to either  
 of them) that his Majesty was even compelled for  
 his own Vindication, and least he might be thought  
 too faint a Prosecutor of an Enemy whose Insur-  
 rections 'twas said himself had fomented, to com-  
 mit the whole Management of that War to his  
 two Houses of Parliament, who again interest-  
 ed and intrusted such Members of their own Body  
 with the ordering and directing of the same, as were  
 resolved with most Passion, Uncharitableness and  
 Violence to prosecute that whole Nation, and the  
 Religion that was most generally exercised there.  
 Thus were all the Persons that were to conduct  
 both the Civil and Military Affairs in *Ireland*  
 drawn to a dependancy on the two Houses at *West-*  
*minster*; all the Officers and Commanders for  
 that War were nominated or approved by them;  
 all money raised for that Service used and dispo-  
 sed only by their Orders; and by these Means  
 they, who craftily intended to draw a Support to  
 themselves by using the King's Name to Purpo-  
 ses he abhorred, foolishly defrauded and depriv'd  
 themselves of that Protection and Mercy, which  
 his Majesty would willingly have vouchsafed to  
 them for their Reduction and Preservation. For  
 from this Time, when any thing was propos'd of  
 Extravagancy, or overmuch Rigour, which the Pro-  
 posers said was necessary for carrying on that  
 War, if the King made any Scruple or Pause in  
 giving his Consent to the same, they straight de-  
 clar'd they were obstructed in sending Relief to  
 the poor Protestants of *Ireland*, and then publish'd

some

Some particular Relations of the lamentable and inhuman Massacre made there by the *Irish*, which were confirm'd by Multitudes of miserable undone People, who landed from thence in several Places of *England*; who likewise reported the Rebels Discourses, of executing all by the King's Direction: So that indeed it was not in his Power to deny, what they thought fit to say was necessary to the good Work in hand. Thus he was compell'd to put all the strong Holds, Towns, and Castles in *Ulster*, in the Possession of the *Scots*, who were at that Time, by the great Managers, believ'd to be more worthy to be trusted than the *English*, with unusual Circumstances of Power, and even a kind of Independence upon the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and when his Majesty desir'd them to re-consider their own Propositions, and reflect how much it might intrench upon the *English* Interest, they furiously voted, that whosoever advis'd his Majesty to that Delay, was an Enemy to the Kingdom, and a Promoter of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. Thus his Majesty was necessitated to consent to that Bill, by which too great a Latitude is given for the Disposal of Land, in the several Provinces of that Kingdom, to those who have adventur'd Money in the War, which without the Interposition, Shelter, and Mercy of the Sovereign Power, would give up almost all that whole People and their Fortunes, to the Disposal of their cruel Enemies. And Lastly, by this accursed and groundless Calumny, thus rais'd upon the King, the full Power was devolv'd into their Hands, who too much imitated the Fury and Inhumanity of the *Irish*, in carrying on the War, and proceeded with so much Rigour and Cruelty in shedding Blood, as was much detested by his Majesty's gracious and merciful Disposition,

But when the Rebellion broke out in *England*, and the King was thereby compell'd to take up Arms

for

*The Cruel Prosecution of the War by the Parliament.* for his own Defence, and had seen the Men and Money rais'd by his Authority for the Relief of Ireland, imploy'd by his *English* Rebels against himself, and so his Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom, upon the Matter, deserted, or at least unprovided for; and the Strength and Power of the *Roman Catholics* increasing, and every Day improv'd by Assistance and Aid from abroad; his Majesty believ'd they had made the worst Use of all the Slanders and Reproaches which were rais'd against him, and began to interpose his own Royal Authority a little more than he could formerly do, in the managing the Affairs of Ireland, and made such an Alteration in the Government there, by removing one Lord Justice who was most addicted to the *English* Rebels, and most pliable to their Ends, and putting a moderate and discreet Person in the Place, that his Majesty's Honour and Command, and the publick Interest of the Kingdom were more regarded, and the Power which the *English* Parliament had unreasonably assum'd there, less consider'd. His Majesty likewise granted more absolute Power and Jurisdiction in Military Affairs to the Marquis of *Ormond*, than he had before, well knowing that as he was a Person of the most ancient Honour, and greatest and noblest of Fortune within that Kingdom, and of a very signal Affection to the Crown, upon the most abstracted Considerations of Conscience, Duty and Integrity; so that being of that Nation, and too much concern'd in their Peace and Happiness, to wish an Extirpation of it, he would carry on the War with less unnecessary Severity and Devastation, than had been us'd; which was like to prove the most effectual Way to purge that People from the Despair they had swallow'd, and dispose them to return to their Duty and Allegiance. And it will not be deny'd, that from this time, (however the

*Irish*

were defeated always in Battel, as often as  
 they encounter'd with the Marquees, and such  
 execution was then taken, as in the Heat and  
 impetuosity of those Contentions, cannot be pre-  
 vented) there was never any foul Act done by the  
 English, or greater Rigour us'd than was neces-  
 sary to the Work in Hand; no Retalliation of  
 former Outrages, but Quarter given when desi-  
 red, and all Articles consented to by the Marquees  
 and his Officers, punctually observ'd and perform'd  
 to the Nation, and the War, in all Considerati-  
 ons, prosecuted by the same Rules, and with the  
 same Temper, as if it had been against an equal  
 enemy, who could have justify'd the entering in-  
 to it.

And here it must be observ'd, that how cheap  
 ever the Marquees is now grown, as a Soldier  
 and General in War, and how much soever the  
 Bishop is pleas'd to reproach his Inactivity, during  
 the whole time that he alone order'd and con-  
 ducted the War against the *Roman Catholicks*,  
 in behalf of his Majesty; his unwearied Vigilance  
 and Industry, in quick, painful and suddain Marches,  
 his sharp and successful Counsel in Designs, and  
 his constant Courage in the Execution, was very  
 grievous and formidable to them: How many of  
 their Towns, Castles and Forts did he take from  
 them with a Handful of Men? When did they  
 appear before him in the Field, though with Num-  
 bers much superior to his, that they were not  
 defeated, routed, and disbanded. Let them re-  
 member the Battel of *Kilrush* in *April, 1642*, when  
 being double the Number of the Marquees, they  
 thought without Difficulty to have cut off his  
 army, which was then tir'd and harras'd with  
 long Marches, and Want of all kind of Provi-  
 sions; but, upon the Encounter, the *Irish* were  
 quickly subdu'd, slain, and put to flight, with the  
 loss of their Baggage and Ammunition. Wit-

*The Gentle  
 Methods  
 taken by  
 his Majesty*

*The Cou-  
 rage and  
 Conduct of  
 the Mar-  
 quees of  
 Ormond*

*The Battel  
 of Kilrush*

ness

*The Battel of Rosse.* ness that famous Battel near *Rosse*, when General *Preston* led an Army of above Six Thousand Foot and Eight Hundred Horse against the Marquess who had not two Thousand two Hundred Foot nor five Hundred Horse; and where, by the Advantage of Ground, and other Accidents, the *Irish* Horse had routed the *English*, and driven them from the Field: At the Sight whereof the small Body of Foot were even apall'd and dismay'd when the Marquess put himself in the Head of his shaken Infantry, and by his sole Resolution and Virtue, inflam'd them with Shame and Courage, and led them against the proud and insolent Enemy; and after a sharp Encounter and Slaughtering of as many as had Courage to make Opposition put the rest to flight, and pursu'd them to the Boggs and Fastnesses, more terrify'd and confounded with his single Name, than the Power that assisted him.

Whilst the Marquess had Officers and Soldiers that would obey and follow him, he found no Enemy could withstand him; without those, no *Hanibal*, *Scipio*, nor *Cesar* himself, ever obtain Victory. By these continual Successes, the wild Temper of the *Irish* began to be abated; and they who had been carry'd with the popular Stream, without any Power to resist the Torrent, had now Opportunity to revolve what they had done, and the Consequence that must necessarily attend such Transactions: They thought a humble Address to him whom they had offended to be a more natural Way to Peace and Happiness than the Prosecution of the War, which had been attended with so much Mischief, and accordingly profess'd a Desire to be admitted in petition the King; in which they found such Encouragement, That, upon the First Declaration, a Commission was sent by his Majesty to the Marquess of *Ormond* and others, to receive and

*The Irish  
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for a Treas-  
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such Petition, which likewise was no sooner transmitted to him, than another Commission under the great Seal of *Ireland* was granted to treat with the *Roman Catholick Irish*, in order to a Cessation of Arms; that so, upon the Intermision of those Acts of Blood and Outrage, and a more charitable Communication of each others Grievances, the Foundation of a happy Peace might be temperately and maturely weighed and consider'd: And hereupon the Cessation of Arms was agreed on for the Space of one Year, so much to the Advantage and Benefit of the *Roman Catholicks*.

A Cessation agreed to.

What Scandal, Reproach, and real Damage the Marquess underwent by his being charitably inclin'd to that Cessation, and desiring to prevent those Calamities which he wisely foresaw must be the Portion of that Nation, if they did not speedily return to their Allegiance and Loyalty, wise Men knew, who were acquainted with the Humour and Spirit of that Time, the universal Prejudice the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* had contracted against the *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland*, for the Damage they had sustain'd and the Rapine and Cruelty which had been perpetrated by the first Authors of the Rebellion, insomuch as a more unpleasing and unpopular Inclination could not be discover'd in any Man, than a Wish or Consent that the War (from which so many promis'd Revenge and Fortunes) should be any other Way ended, than with the Blood and Confiscation of all whom they could propose to be guilty of the Defection. And if the Marquess hath not found a due Retribution of Thanks and Acknowledgment from the whole Nation, for giving that Opportunity to have made themselves happy (so signally to his own Disadvantage) it must be imputed to the Want of Understanding and Gratitude, in which too many of that People have abounded.

C

Shortly

Shortly after the Cessation was made, the confederate *Catholicks* appointed certain Commissioners authoriz'd by them to attend his Majesty at *Oxford*, with such Desires and Propositions, as make too lively a Representation how incompetent Considerers they were of that Way to their own Repose and Happiness; and how unlikely they were to prevent the destroying Calamities that hung over their Heads, and so closely pursue'd them at the same time. As long as the Treaty lasted, the King was likewise attended by a Committee sent by the Council-Board of that Kingdom, to inform his Majesty of all Matters of Fact which had pass'd, and of the Laws and Customs there, which might be necessary to be well weighed, upon what the *Catholicks* should demand or propose: And by another Committee, who were deputed by a Parliament then Sitting at *Dublin*, to solicit his Majesty in behalf of his Majesty's Subjects of that Kingdom; and that nothing might be granted in that Treaty to the Prejudice of their Interest and Security.

*The High  
Demands  
of the Ro-  
manists:*

The *Catholicks*, as Men which thought themselves possess'd of the whole Strength and Power of the Kingdom, and the King's Condition in *England* so weak, as he would buy their Assistance at any Rate, demanded upon the Matter the Total Alteration of Government both in Church and State: The very Form of making and enacting Laws, which is the Foundation of Government, and which had been practis'd ever since the Reign of *Henry the VII.* must be abolish'd, and instead of Liberty and Toleration of the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion, they insisted upon such Privileges, Immunities, and Power, as would have amounted at best but to a Toleration of the Protestant Religion; and That no longer than they should think fit to consent to it. On the other Hand, the com-

mitted

Committee of Parliament, as Men who too much  
at the Smart and Anguish of their late Suf-  
ferings, and undervalued and contemn'd the *Catholick Irish*, as inferior to them in Courage and  
conduct, and as possess'd of much greater Pow-  
er by the Cessation than they could attain in  
War, very earnestly press'd the Execution of the  
Laws in Force, Reparation for the Damage they  
had sustain'd, and disarming the *Irish* in such  
manner, and to such Degrees, as it might not  
hereafter in their Power to do more Mis-  
chief; and such other Conditions as People,  
who are able to contend, are not usually perswad-  
ed to submit unto. In these so different and  
instant Applications, they who were sent as mo-  
derate Men from the Council, knew not how to  
have themselves; but enough discover'd, that  
they had not the Confidence in the *Irish*, as to  
be willing they should be so far trusted: That  
the Performance of their Duty should depend  
wholly upon their Affections and Allegiance, but  
that there should be greater Restraint on them  
than they were inclin'd to submit to; otherwise,  
that the Protestant Religion and *English* Interest  
would be sooner rooted out by that Peace they  
propos'd, than it could be by the War.

It is true, that the Committee for the con-  
siderate *Catholicks* demeaned themselves to his  
Majesty with a great deal of Modesty and Duty,  
and confess'd they believ'd the Demands they  
were enjoin'd to insist on, were such as his Majesty  
would not consent unto; and that the present Con-  
dition of his Affairs was not so well understood  
by them, or by those that sent them, before  
their coming out of *Ireland*, as it now was;  
which if it had been, they were confident they  
would have had such Instructions as would have  
better comply'd with their own Desires and his  
Majesty's Occasions; and therefore frankly offer'd

to return, and use their utmost Endeavour to incline the confederate Council, whose Deputies they were, and who then exercis'd the supreme Power over the confederate *Catholicks* of Ireland to more Moderation, and to return to their full Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, upon such Conditions as his Goodness would consent unto for their Security.

*The Cessation continued.*

Hereupon the King sent his Command to the Marquess of *Ormond*, whom he had now made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, to continue and renew their Cessation for another Year; and likewise a Commission under the great Seal of *England*, to make a full Peace with his *Catholic* Subjects, upon such Conditions as he found agreeable to the publick Good and Welfare, and might produce such a Peace and Union in the Kingdom, that it might assist him for the Vindication of his Royal Power, and suppressing the Rebels in *England* and *Scotland*; and so his Majesty dismiss'd the *Catholic* Commissioners with Demonstration of much Grace and Confidence to them; and with this good Counsel which he most pathetically pour'd out to them at their Departure, That they should remember, That the Preservation of their Nation, and the Religion which they profess'd, and were so zealous for in *Ireland*, depended upon the Preservation of his Majesty's Rights and Authority in *England*. That they his Subjects in *Scotland* (contrary to all their Obligations) had invaded *England*, and joyn'd with the Rebels against him, who without that Assistance would have been speedily reduc'd to their Obedience. And therefore, if his *Catholic* Subjects of *Ireland* made haste, upon such Conditions as he might grant, without Prejudice to himself; and which should be amply sufficient for the Security of the Fortunes, Lives, and exercise of that Religion to assist him, whereby he might be enabled, by God's Blessing, to bring them to their Obedience, and to the full Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, upon such Conditions as his Goodness would consent unto for their Security.

*His Majesty's good Advice to the Catholic Commissioners.*

parture, That they should remember, That the Preservation of their Nation, and the Religion which they profess'd, and were so zealous for in *Ireland*, depended upon the Preservation of his Majesty's Rights and Authority in *England*. That they his Subjects in *Scotland* (contrary to all their Obligations) had invaded *England*, and joyn'd with the Rebels against him, who without that Assistance would have been speedily reduc'd to their Obedience. And therefore, if his *Catholic* Subjects of *Ireland* made haste, upon such Conditions as he might grant, without Prejudice to himself; and which should be amply sufficient for the Security of the Fortunes, Lives, and exercise of that Religion to assist him, whereby he might be enabled, by God's Blessing, to bring them to their Obedience, and to the full Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, upon such Conditions as his Goodness would consent unto for their Security.

Blessing, to suppress that Rebellion, they might confidently believe he would never forget to whose Merits he ow'd his Preservation and Restauration; and it would then be in his absolute Power to vouchsafe Grace unto them to compleat their Happiness, and which he gave them his Royal Word he would then dispense in such Manner, as should not leave them disappointed of their just and full Expectations; but if, by insisting on such Particulars as he could not in Conscience consent to, and their Conscience oblig'd them not to ask, and on such as though he could himself be content to yield to, yet in that Juncture of time would bring so great a Damage to him, that all the Supplies that they could give or send, could not countervail, and might as beneficially be granted to them hereafter when he might better do it; if they should delay their joyning with him, and so look on till the Rebels Power prevail'd against him in England and Scotland, and suppress his Party in those Kingdoms, it would then be too late for them to give him help, and they would quickly find their Strength in Ireland but an imaginary Support for his or their own Interest; and that they who with much Difficulty had destroy'd him, would then without any considerable Opposition, ruin their Interest, and root out their Religion and their Nation from all the Dominions which should be subject to their exorbitant Jurisdiction. How much of this prov'd a Prophecy, their sad Experience knows, and the World cannot but take Notice-of it.

When the Commissioners return'd into Ireland, most of them perform'd their Promise and Engagement to the King very faithfully; and by the Information they gaveto the supreme Council, and by their Counsel, Interest, and Advice, they prevail'd so far, that the Nobility, Gentry, and all Men of considerable Fortunes, with such of the Secular and Regular Clergy, who were the

most eminent for Piety and Practice of Religious Duties, were convinc'd of the Necessity of submitting themselves entirely to the King, upon such Terms, for the present, as his Majesty had graciously offer'd their Commissioners; and that no Time should be lost in perfecting the Pacification, and in proceeding most effectually towards their assisting the King in *England*: But the evil Genius of that People quickly banish'd this blessed Temper, and manifested to the World how unripe they were for that Blessing. They who valu'd themselves upon their Interest and Dependences, whose Credit and Reputation had corrupted Multitudes to swerve from their publick Duty to their King, out of their private Devotion and Submission to them, found it now a more easy Matter to prevent and mislead popular Affections, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the Spirits they had conjur'd up, than they could command the Sun or the Winds. The Nobility, and Men of known Fortunes, had lost their Power, and the most factious, ignorant, and violent Part of the Clergy had so much Influence upon the common People, that they only obey'd their Dictates, and with them only oppos'd all those Conclusions, which, according to Wisdom and true Policy, were to be the Ingredients of a happy and lasting Peace; and so above two Years were spent, after the Commissioners departed from the King, in fruitless and ineffectual Treaties, whilst the Strength and Power of the Rebellion in *England* exceedingly increas'd; and his Majesty's Forces were defeated, and himself, for want of the Succour he expected, and which he was promis'd out of *Ireland*, compell'd to deliver up himself to his *Scottish* Subjects, and was shortly after deliver'd by them to the Rebels of *England*, by whom he was in the End, with all those Circumstances

*The Treaty  
ineffectual*

*The Ruin  
of his Ma-  
jesty and  
his King-  
doms.*

circumstances of Horreur and Barbarity, murder'd  
in the Sight of the Sun.

After all these unhappy and pernicious Delays, *An Assem-  
bly of the* a great Assembly of the confederate Catholicks, *confede-  
rate Ca-  
tholicks in  
the Year* which consisted of all the Peers of that Party, and of  
all the Gentlemen and Burgeses of Corporation  
Towns, (which was as lively a Representation of the  
whole Nation as they could make) towards the end  
of the Year 1645, appointed and authoriz'd a select  
Number of that Body of the Peers of eminent Quality  
and most eminent Ability, and such as throughout all  
the Troubles had been employ'd and intrusted by them  
in Places and Offices of highest Trust and Concern-  
ment, to treat and conclude with the Marquis of Or-  
mond his Majesty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom.

*Appoint.  
Commis-  
sioners for  
a new  
Treaty* a firm and full Peace; whereupon all the Parti-  
culars which might concern the Interest and the  
Security of either Party being maturely weighed  
and consider'd, and every Article being then first  
read, debated and approv'd in the General Assem-  
bly, without one dissenting Voice, the whole was  
concluded, and the confederate *Catholicks* oblig'd  
to transport within a very short time an Army  
of Ten Thousand Men into *England*, for the Ser-  
vice and Relief of the King; and all things thus  
stated and settled, the Commissioners who had  
treated the Peace were sent by, and in, the Name  
of the Assembly to *Dublin*, where the Lord Lieu-  
tenant resided, to sign the said Articles, and to  
receive his Lordship's Confirmation of them: And  
accordingly the Articles were there in the Begin-  
ning of the Year 1646, interchangeably sign'd  
and perfected, with all the Formalities requisite,  
and shortly after, were with all Solemnity and  
Ceremony publish'd and proclaim'd by the King  
at Arms in *Dublin* and at *Kilkenny*, where the su-  
preme Council and the Assembly of all the con-  
federate *Catholicks* were held, and then printed  
by their publick Authority. The Arch-Bishop

of *Firmo*, the Pope's Nuncio, with the *Catholicks* in *Ireland*, manifesting his Approbation of all that had been done, and giving his Blessing to the Commissioners when they were sent to *Dublin* to conclude the Treaty; and other Ministers from Foreign Princes being present, consenting to and witnessing the Conclusion: So that the Marquis having perform'd all on his Part that could be expected from him, and was in his Power to do; and having receiv'd from other Parts all the Assurance he could require, there being no other Way of ingaging the publick Faith of the Nation, than that to which they had formerly engag'd themselves to him, intended nothing but how his Majesty might speedily receive some Fruit of the Peace and Accommodation, by sending some Assistance to him, and to that Purpose, with Advice, and upon Invitation of several Persons who had great Authority and Power amongst the confederate *Catholicks*, he took a Journey himself to *Kilkenny*, where he was receiv'd with that Respect and Reverence which was due to his Person, and to the Place he held; and with such Expressions of Triumph and Joy, as gave him cause to believe the People were glad again to be receiv'd into his Majesty's Protection, But this Sun-shine of Hope quickly vanish'd, and a Cloud of Jealousy began again to cover the Land. The Pope's Nuncio, and the titular Bishops which depended on him, envy'd the Nation the Happiness and Glory they foresaw it would be possess'd of by the Execution of that Agreement; and so without any Colour of Authority, either by the old establish'd Laws of that Kingdom, or the Rules they had prescribed to themselves since the Rebellion, they convened a Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*, (a Town most at their Devotion) where this titular Bishop of *Fernes* was in the Chair, and resided: And therefore it will not be a missto take a short View

The Mar-  
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the Treaty  
obstructed  
by the I-  
rish Cler-  
gy.

of their Proceedings, that the unhappy, oppress'd, miserable People of *Ireland* may clearly discern to whom they owe those Oppressions they are now overwhelm'd with; and whether that Bishop is to be reckon'd in the Number of those who suffer at present for their Zeal to Religion, their Allegiance to the King, and Affection to their Country: Or whether his Name is to be inroll'd in the Catalogue which must derive to Posterity the Authors and Fomenters of so odious and causeless a Rebellion, in which such a Sea of Blood hath been let out, and the Destroyers of the Honour and Faith of the Country and Nation; and who are no less guilty of the Extirpation of Religion in that *Catholick* Kingdom, than *Ireton* or *Cromwell*, or that impious Power under which they have perpetrated all their Acts of Blood, Cruelty, and Desolation.

This Congregation of the Clergy were no soon-<sup>Proceed-</sup>  
er assembled, than (instead of prescribing Acts of<sup>ings of</sup>  
Charity and Repentance to the People, for the<sup>their As-</sup>  
ills they had formerly done, and then inflaming<sup>sembly at</sup>  
their Hearts with new Zeal, and infusing pious<sup>Water-</sup>  
Courage into them, to relieve and succour the King<sup>ford.</sup>  
from those Rebels that oppos'd him, according to their particular Obligation by their late Agreement, (which had been the proper Office of Prelates and a Christian Clergy) they began to inveigh against the Peace which themselves had so lately approv'd, and so formally consented to, as if it had not carefully enough provided for the Advancement of Religion; would not suffer it to be proclaim'd at *Waterford*, and sent their Emisaries and their Orders to all considerable Towns and Cities, to incense the People against it, and against those who wished it should take Effect; in so much, that when the King at Arms was proclaiming the Peace at *Lymerick*, with that Solemnity and Ceremony as in such Cases is us'd throughout the World, with  
his

his Coat of Arms, the Ensign of his Office, and accompany'd with the Mayor and Aldermen, and most substantial of the Citizens in their Robes, and with all the Ensigns of Magistracy and Authority, one *Maleife*, a Seditious Fryar, stirr'd up the Multitude against him, which being led on by one *Fanning*, a Person notorious for many Outrages and Acts of Blood and Inhumanity in the Beginning of the Rebellion, violently assaulted them; and and after many opprobrious Speeches in Contempt of the Peace and the Authority of the King, and tearing off the Coat from the Herauld, beat and wounded him and many of the Magistrates of the City, and some of them almost to Death. And left all this might be excus'd, and charitably interpreted to be the Effect of a popular tumultuous Insurrection, the lawful Mayor, and other principal Officers who assisted him in the Discharge of his Duty, were immediately displac'd, and *Fanning*, the impious Conduſter of that Rabble, made Mayor in his Place; who by Letters from the Nuncio was thank'd for what he had done, encourag'd to proceed in the ſame Way, and had the Apoſtolicall Benediction beſtowed on him for committing ſuch an Outrage on the privileg'd Perſon of an Herauld, who in the Name of the King came to proclaim the Peace, as by the Law of Nations muſt have been adjudg'd barbarous and unpardonable, in any part of the World where Civility is planted, if he had come to have denounc'd War: And yet all this while, the Deſign it ſelf was carried on with ſo great Secreſy, that the Lord-Lieutenant (proceeding in his Progreſs for the Settling and compoſing the Humours of the People, which he underſtood to have been in ſome Diſorders by the Infuſion of the ill affected Clergy) never heard of any Force of Arms to ſecond and ſupport theſe mutinous Diſorders, till being near the City of *Caffell*, he was inform'd

*Which occasion'd popular Tumults, particularly in Lime-rick.*

*Where the Magistrates are displaced.*

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by Letters from the Mayor, that *Owen O Neal's* Those Dis-  
Army was march'd that way, and had sent ter- orders sup-  
rible Threats to that City, if it presum'd to re- ported by  
ceive the Lord Lieutenant: And shortly after, an Army  
he found, that *Owen O Neal* us'd all possible Ex- under O-  
pedition to get between him and *Dublin*, that *Neal*.  
so he might have been able to have surpriz'd  
and destroy'd him. Whereupon the Marquess Who en-  
found it necessary to lose no Time in re- deavours  
turning theither, yet resolv'd not only to con- to surprize  
tain himself from all Acts of Hostility, but even the Mar-  
from those Trespasses which are hardly avoided ques.  
upon Marches, and so paid punctually for what-  
soever was taken from the Inhabitants through-  
out all the *Catholick* Quarters, presuming that  
those Persons of Honour who had transacted the  
Treaty, would have been able to have caus'd that  
Peace to be observ'd in despite of these clamorous  
Undertakers.

When the unchristian Congregation at *Water-* The Assem-  
*ford* had made this Essay of their Power and Ju- bly at *Wa-*  
risdiction, they made all possible haste to propa- ter *ford*  
gate their Authority, and declar'd the Peace to declares  
be void, and inhibited all Persons to submit there the Peace.  
to, or to pay any Taxes, Impositions, or Contribu- Void.  
tions which had been settled by the said Agree-  
ment; and without which neither a standing Ar-  
my (which was to be apply'd to the Reduction  
of those Towns and Provinces which had put them-  
selves under the Protection of the Rebels of *Eng-*  
*land*, and never submitted to the former Cessation,  
nor could be comprehended in the Peace) could  
be supported, or the ten Thousand Men could  
be transported into *England* for the Service of  
the King, as had been so religiously undertaken.  
Which Inclination of theirs the People so readi-  
obey'd, and submitted unto, that they delegated an  
entire and absolute Power and Command, as well  
in Secular as Ecclesiastical Matters, to the Pope's  
Nuncio,

*The Nuncio assumes the Supreme Power.* Nuncio, who began his Empire with committing to Prison the Commissioners who had been instrumental in the Treaty, and making of the Peace by order of the General Assembly, and issued out an Excommunication against all those who had, or should submit to the Peace, which comprehended all the Nobility, and almost all the Gentry of the Nation, and very many of the most learned and pious Clergy, as well Regular as Secular: Which Excommunication wrought so universally upon the Minds of the People, that albeit many Persons of Honour and Quality receiv'd infinite Scandal, and well foresaw the irreparable Damage their Religion it self would undergo by that unwarrantable Proceeding, and us'd their utmost Endeavours to draw the People to Obedience and Submission to the said Agreement; and to that Purpose prevail'd so far with General *Preston*, that he gave them Reason to hope, that he would join with them for the Viñdication of the publick Faith and Honour of the Nation, and compel those that oppos'd it to submit to the Peace; yet all these Endeavours produc'd no Effect, but concluded in unprofitable Resentments and Lamentations.

*Owen O Neal enters the Queens County.* In the mean time, *Owen O Neal* (when he found himself disappointed of his Design to cut off the Lord Lieutenant before he should reach *Dublin*) enter'd into the Queen's County, and committed all Acts of Cruelty and Outrage that can be imagin'd; took many Castles and Forts that belong'd to the King, and put all who resisted, to the Sword; and his Officers, in cold Blood, caus'd others to be murder'd, to whom they had promis'd Quarter, as Major *Piggott*, and others of his Family; and shortly after the Nuncio prevail'd so much, that he united General *Preston* to his Army, and likewise to his Purpose, and then himself, as Generalissimo, led both Armies towards *Dublin*.

lin, where the Lord Lieutenant was so surpriz'd by their Perfidiousness, that he found himself in no less Streights and Distresses from his Friends within, than from his Enemies without, who totally neglected those Forces, which being under the Obedience of the *English* Rebels, had always waged a sharp and bloody War with them, and at present made Inroads into their Quarters, to their great Damage, and entirely engag'd themselves close to suppress the King's Authority, to which they had so lately submitted.

Left so prodigious an Alteration as is now set forth, may appear to be wrapp'd up in too short Discourses, and it may appear almost incredible, that an Agreement so deliberately and solemnly enter'd into by the whole Nobility and Gentry of a Nation, in a Matter that so entirely concern'd their own Interest, should in such an Instant be blasted and annihilated by a Congregation of Clergy, assembled only by their own Authority, and therefore without the Vice of Curiosity, all Men may desire to be inform'd by what Degrees and Methods that Congregation proceeded, and what specious Pretences and Insinuations they us'd towards the People for the better perswading them to depart from that Peace, they were once again restor'd to the Possession of; it will be less impertinent to set down some important Particulars of their Proceedings, and the very Form of some Instruments publish'd by them, that the World may see the Logick and Rhetorick that was us'd to impose upon and delude that unhappy People, and intangle them in that Labyrinth of Confusion, in which they are still involv'd.

They were not content not to suffer the Peace to be proclaim'd in *Waterford*, and to dissuade the People from submitting to it but by a Decree, dated the 12th of *August*, 1646, which they commanded to be publish'd in all Places in the *English* and

*Strange  
Decree of  
the Irish  
Clergy.*

and *Irish* Tongue; they declar'd by the unanimous Consent and Votes of all, even none contradicting, (as they say) that all and singular the confederate Catholicks, who should adhere or consent to the Peace or to the Factors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, should be absolutely perjur'd; especially for this Cause, that in those Articles there is no mention made of the Catholick Religion, or the Security thereof, or any Care taken for the Conservation of the Priviledges of the Country, as had been promis'd in an Oath formerly taken by them, but rather all things refer'd to the Pleasure of the most renown'd King, from whom, in this present State, they said nothing of Certainty could be had; and in the Interim the Armies, Arms and Fortunes, and even the supreme Council of the confederate Catholicks, are subjected to the Rule and Authority of the Council of State and Protestant Officers of his Majesty, from whom that they might be secure, they had taken that Oath; and the next Day being inform'd that the Lord Viscount *Mountgarrett*, and the Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, were appointed by the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny* to go to *Dublin* to confer with the Lord Lieutenant, upon the best Way to be pursu'd for the Execution and Observation of the Peace, they made on Order in writing, in which were these Words.

' We admonish in our Lord, and require the  
' Persons who are departed to *Dublin*, that they  
' forbear and abstain from going thither for the  
' said End; or if they be gone, that they return;  
' and this under the Pain of Excommunication;  
' commanding the Right Honourable the Bishop  
' of *Offory*, and other Bishops, as well assembled as  
' not assembled here, and their Vicars General, as also Vicars Apostolical, and all Priests,  
' even Irregulars, that they intimate, these Presents or cause them to be intimated, even by  
' affixing

affixing in publick Places, and that they proceed against the Disobedient, in denouncing of Excommunication, as it should be expedient in our Lord.

When the the Supreme Council (notwithstanding these new Orders and Injunctions) continu'd till their Desire to observe the Peace, the titular Bishop of *Ossory* publish'd this extraordinary *Strange Writing of the titular Bishop of Ossory.* 'Whereas we have in publick and private Meetings, at several Times declar'd to the Supreme Council, and others whom it may concern, that it was and is unlawful, against Conscience, and implying Perjury (as it hath been defined by the special Act of the Convocation now at *Waterford*) to both Commonwealths, Spiritual and Temporal, to do or concur to any Act tending to the Approbation or countenancing the Publication of this unlawful and mischievous Peace, so dangerous (as it is now articulated) to both Commonwealths, Spiritual and Temporal: And whereas, notwithstanding our Declaration (yea the Declaration of the Clergy of the Kingdom) to the contrary, the Supreme Council, and the Commissioners, have Actually proceeded to the Publication, yea and forcing it upon the City by Terror and Threats, rather than by any free Consent or Desire of the People: We having duly consider'd and taken it to Heart as becometh; how enormous this Fact is and appears in Catholicks, even against God himself, and what a publick Contempt of the Holy Church it appears, besides the Evil it is like to draw upon this poor Kingdom, after a mature Deliberation and Consent of our Clergy, in Detestation of this heinous and scandalous Disobedience of the Supreme Council, and others who adher'd to them in Matter of Conscience to the Holy Church, and in hatred of so sinful and abominable an Act, We do by these  
Presents

‘ Presents, according to the Prescription of Sacred  
 ‘ Canons, pronounce and command, henceforth,  
 ‘ general Cessation of divine Offices throughout  
 ‘ all the City and Suburbs of *Kilkenny*, in all  
 ‘ Churches, Monastries, and Houses whatsoever.  
 ‘ Given at our Palace of *Nova Curia*, Aug. 18  
 1646. Sign’d *David Ossorienfis*.

This extravagant Proceeding did not yet ter-  
 rify those of the confederate Catholics, who under-  
 stood how necessary the Observation of the Peace  
 was for the Preservation and Welfare of the Na-  
 tion; but as they desir’d all Acts of Hostility to  
 cease, upon how unreasonable a Provocation for-  
 ever, so they sent two Persons of the Supreme  
 Council (*Sir Lucas Dillon*, and *Dr. Fennell*) to the  
 Congregation at *Waterford*, to dispose them to a  
 better Temper, and to find out some Expedient  
 which might compose the Minds of the People,  
 and prevent those Calamities that would unavoid-  
 ably fall upon the Nation, upon their declining  
 or renouncing the Peace; But after they had  
 attended several Days, and offered many Reasons  
 and Considerations to them, the Congregation put  
 a Period to all the Hopes and Consultations of  
 that Nature, by issuing out a Decree of Excom-  
 munication, which they caused to be printed  
 in this Form, in these Words, with the marginal  
 Notes; By *John Baptist Ranucini*, Archbishop  
 and Primate of *Fermo*, and by the Ecclesiastical  
 Congregation of both Clergies of the Kingdom  
 Ireland.

The Assem-  
 bly's De-  
 cree of Ex-  
 communi-  
 cation.

A Decree of Excommunication against such  
 as adhere to the late Peace, and do bear Arms  
 for the Hereticks of *Ireland*, and do aid or assist  
 them.

NOT without Cause (saith the Oracle of Truth)  
 doth the Minister of God carry the Sword

For he is to punish him that doth Evil, and remunerate him that doth Good: Hence it is, that we have by our former Decree declared to the World, our Sense and just Indignation against the late Peace, concluded and published at Dublin; not only in its Nature bringing Prejudice and Destruction of Religion and Kingdom, but also contrary to the Oath of Association, and withal against the Contrivers of and Adherers to the said Peace; in pursuance of which Decrees, being forced to unsheath the spiritual Sword, We (to whom God hath given Power to bind and loose on Earth) assembled together Math. 16. in the Holy Ghost, tracing herein and imitating 18, 19. the Examples of many venerable and holy Prelates, Joh. 26. who have gone before us; and taking for our<sup>23.</sup> Authority the sacred Canons of Holy Church, grounded on holy Writ, ut tollantur emedio nostrum qui hoc opus faciunt, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu; deliver over such Persons to Satan (that is to say) Excommunicate, Execrate, 1. Cor. 5. and Anathematize all such, as after the publication of this our Decree and Notice, either private, 4. 5. or publickly given them thereof, shall defend, adhere to, or approve of the Justice of the said Peace; and chiefly those who bear Arms, or make, or join in War, for, or in behalf of the Puritans or other Hereticks at Dublin, Cork, Youghall, or of other Places in this Kingdom; or shall, either by themselves, or by their Appointment, bring, send, or give any Aid, Succour, or Relief, Victuals, Ammunition, or other Provision to them; or by Advice, or otherways, advance the said Peace, or the War made against us; those and every of them, by this present Decree, we do declare and pronounce Excommunicated ipso facto, ut non circumveniamini a Satana, non enim ignoramus Cogitationes ejus. Donec at Kilkenny in our Palace of Residence, 15 October, 1646. Signed Johannes Baptista Archi-Episcopus Fermanus, Nuncius Apostolicus de Mandato

illustrissimi Domini Nuncij & Congregationis  
Ecclesiasticæ utriusq; Cleri Regni Hiberniæ  
Nicholas Fernensis Congregationis Cancellarius.

*The Nun-  
cio March-  
es 2 Ar-  
mies to  
Dublin*

And Having thus fortified himself, he as Generalissimo made all Preparations to march with two Armies to *Dublin*, which consisting of sixteen thousand Foot, and as many hundred Horse as he believed, or seemed to believe, he should take the Town by Assault as soon as he should appear before it; and in this Confidence (that we may not interrupt the Series of this Discourse by any intervening Action) when the Armies were within a Days March of the City, the two Generals sent this Letter with the Propositions annexed to the Lord-Lieutenant.

May it please your Excellency,

**B**Y the Command of the Confederate Catholics of this Kingdom, who offer the inclosed Propositions, we have under our Leading two Armies; our Thoughts are bent to our Religion, King and Country; our Ends to establish the first, and to make the two last secure and happy; it is the greatest of our Care and Desire to perswade your Excellency to the effecting so blessed a Work: We do not desire Effusion of Blood, and to that purpose the inclosed Propositions are sent from us. We pray God your Consideration of them may prove fruitful. We are commanded to pray your Excellency to render an Answer to them by two of the Clock in the Afternoon on Thursday next; be it War or Peace, VVe shall endeavour in our ways to exercise Faith and Honour, and upon this Thought, VVe rest Your Excellency's most humble Servants,

JOHN PRESTON,  
OWEN O NEAL.

*From*

from the Camp,  
2 March, 1646.

Haughbr  
Propositi-  
ons to the  
Lord Lieu-  
tenant.

**T**HAT the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion be in *Dublin, Drogheda*, and in all the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as free and publick as it is now in *Paris* in *France*, or *Bruxels* in the Low Countries.

I.

That the Council of State, called ordinarily the Council-Table, be of Members true and faithful to His Majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspicion of going to the *Parliament* Party.

II.

That *Dublin, Drogheda, Trym, Newry, Cathersburgh, Carlingford*, and all Garrisons within the Protestant Quarters, be garrisoned by Confederate Catholicks, to maintain and keep the said City and Places for the Use of our Sovereign Lord King *Charles* and his lawful Successors, for the Defence of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

III.

That the present Council of the Confederates, shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain for the Use of his Majesty and his lawful Successors, and for the Defence of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, the above City of *Dublin, Drogheda*, and all other Forts, Places, and Castles as above.

IV.

That the Council and all General Officers and Soldiers whatsoever; do swear and protest to fight by Sea and Land against the Parliamentaries and all the King's Enemies; and that they will never come to any Convention or Article with the said Parliamentaries, or any the King's Enemies to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Rights, of this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

V.

That according to our Oath of Association, we will, to the best of our Power and Cunning, defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the King's Right, the Lives and Fortunes of

VI.

his Subjects. *His Excellence is prayed to make Answer to the above Propositions at farthest two of the Clock in the Afternoon, upon Thursday next.*

JOHN PRESTON  
OWEN O NEAL

*The Difficulties the Marquess lay under.*

Let all dispassionate Men now consider what could the Marquess do, his Quarters were so streight and narrow, that they could yield no Support to the few Field Forces he had left, all his Garrison besieg'd without an Enemy, being destitute of Provisions within, and so block'd up by the Rebels Ships, which kept all Manner of Trade and Supplies from them that Way. All the Army he had for the Field and Garrisons amounted not to 5000 Foot and 1100 Horse, without Cloaths, Money, or fix'd Arms, and with so inconsiderable a Store of Ammunition, that when the Nuncio was upon his March, with both the *Irish* Generals, and their united Power, toward *Dublin*, he had not in that most important City the Metropolitan of the Kingdom, more than Fourteen Barrels of Powder; not only the Inhabitants, but the Soldiers themselves impatient of the Distresses they were in, and which inevitably they saw must fall on them; and they who had before presum'd in Corners and Whispers to tax the Marquess as not being zealous enough for the *English* Interest, and too credulous of what was promised and undertaken by the *Irish*, had the Boldness to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combin'd with the *Irish* to put all into their Hands. They who from the Beginning of the Troubles had been firm and unshaken in their Loyalty to the King, and cheerfully suffer'd great Losses, and had undergone great Hazards for being so, and had been of the most constant Affection to, and confidence in, the Marquess, and resolv'd to obey him in what he should order for the King's Service, for

he conducting whereof he was solely and entire-  
 ly intrusted by his Majesty, could not yet endure  
 to think of being put into, or falling under the  
 Power of the *Irish*, who by this new Breach of Faith,  
 had made themselves utterly incapable of any fu-  
 ture Trust; for what Security could they publick-  
 ly give for Performance of any Contract, which  
 they had not lately given, for the Observation of  
 that which so infamously they had receded from?  
 So as there wanted not some within the City, and  
 of the Soldiers, who undertook to surprize the Ca-  
 stle, and seize on the Person of the Lord Lieutenant,  
 and to deliver both to the *English* Rebels, and had  
 so near executed that Design, that they had in the  
 Morning surpris'd the Guard, and were possess'd of  
 the principal Port in the Castle, so the rest did so  
 far prefer a Submission to the *English* Rebels, (who  
 then pretended a Resolution to return to their O-  
 bedience to the King, and were upon Treaties to  
 that End) before their submitting to the *Irish*,  
 that the Marquess had not Power enough to pro-  
 ceed upon that Conspiracy with such Severity as was  
 necessary, lest too many might be found to be involv'd  
 in that Guilt, and some of too much Interest and Cre-  
 dit to be brought to Justice; whereupon he found  
 it to be absolutely necessary to make a Shew of in-  
 clining to the *English*, and sent to the Ships then  
 riding in the Bay of *Dublin*, that they would trans-  
 port some Commissioners to the Parliament from  
 him to treat about the Surrender of the City, and  
 other Garrisons under his command, which Pro-  
 position was most greedily embrac'd by them, and  
 the Persons deputed accordingly convey'd into Eng-  
 land. By this Means the Marquess was forth-  
 with supply'd with a considerable Proportion of  
 Powder, which the Captains of those Ships de-  
 liver'd to him, without which he could have made  
 no Defence against the Nuncio; and hereby the *Irish*  
 had a fair Warning to bethink themselves in Time

The Lord  
 Lieuten-  
 ant oblig-  
 ed to treat  
 with the  
 Parliam-  
 ent.

of returning to their Duty, since they might discern, that if they would not suffer *Dublin* to continue in the King's Obedience, it should be deliver'd to them, who would deal less graciously with them, and had Power enough to punish those Indignities which had been offer'd, and the Marquess was still without other Engagements than to do what he should judge most conducing to his Majesty's Service.

Which  
more in-  
clines the  
Irish to  
Peace.

This last Consideration made such Impression upon them, that when they saw the Ships return from *England*, with Supplies of Soldiers, Money, and great Store of Provision, and the Commissioners to treat with the Marquess for putting all into their Hands, the *Irish* seem'd less united among themselves, and more desirous to make Conditions with the Lord Lieutenant and General *Preston*, and his Officers frankly enter'd into a Treaty with the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, whom the Lord Lieutenant authoriz'd to that End, and with deep and solemn Oaths undertook and promis'd to stand to the Peace, and from that time forward to be Obedient to his Majesty's Authority, and to join with the Marquess of *Ormond* against all those who should refuse to submit to them. On the other Side, the Commissioners from the two Houses of Parliament, who were admitted into *Dublin* to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, observing the very ill Condition the Town was in, besieg'd by two strong Armies, by whom they within, every Hour expected to be assaulted, concluded that the Want of Food and all Necessaries for Defence would compel the Marquess, with the Importuning and Clamour of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, to receive Supply of Men, Money, and Victuals (which they had brought) on any Terms, and therefore insisted on very unreasonable and extravagant Demands.

But heightens the Parliament Commissioners.

and refus'd to consent that the Marquess should send any Messenger to the King, that upon Information how the Cause stood, he might receive his Majesty's Directions what to do, and without which he was always resolv'd not to proceed to any Conjunction with them, and so had privately dispatch'd several Expresses to the King as soon as he discern'd clearly that the *Irish* were so terrify'd by the Nuncio and his Excommunication, that there was little hope of Good from them) with Information of the State of Affairs, and expected every Day a Return of some of the said Messengers, with the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure. All Things being in this Posture, the Commissioners from the two Houses return'd again to their Ships, and carry'd all the Supplies they had brought to the Parliament Garrisons, in the Province of *Ulster*, being so much more incens'd against the Lord Lieutenant for declining an entire Union with them, and inclining (as they say he did) to a new Confidence in the *Irish*.

The Marquess of *Clanrickard* had an entire Trust from the Lord Lieutenant as a Person superior to all Temptations, which might endeavour to lessen or divert his Affection and Integrity to the King, and his Zeal to the Romish Religion in which he had been bred, and to which he had most constantly adher'd, was as unquestionable: He had taken very great Pains to render the Peace which had been so long in Consultation, effectual to the Nation, and had very frankly, both by Discourse and Writing, endeavour'd to dissuade the Nuncio from proceeding by those rough Ways, which he foresaw were like to undo the Nation, and dishonour the Catholick Religion: He found General *Preston* and the Officers of his Army less transported with Passion and a blind Submission to the Authority of the Nuncio, than

Zealouſes  
of the Irish

Removed  
by the Mar-  
ques of  
Clanric-  
kard.

than the other, and that they profeſs'd greater Duty and Obedience to the King, and that they ſeem'd to be wrought upon by two Concluſions which had been infus'd into them; the one was, that the Lord Lieutenant was ſo great an Enemy to their Religion, that tho' they ſhould obtain any Conditions from the King, (to their Advantage in that Particular) he would oppoſe and not conſent unto the ſame: The other was, That the King was now in the Hands of the Scots, who were not like to approve of the Peace which had been made, (all that Nation in Ulſter reſuſing to ſubmit unto it) and if they ſhould procure any Order from his Maſteſty to diſavow it, the Lord Lieutenant would undoubtedly obey. Theſe ſpecious Infuſions the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* endeavour'd to remove, and undertook (upon his Honour) to uſe all the Power and Intereſt he had in the King, Queen, and Prince, on behalf of the *Roman Catholicks*, and to procure them ſuch Liberties and Privileges, for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as they could reaſonably expect, and undertook, that the Lord Lieutenant would acquieſce with ſuch Directions as he ſhould receive therein, without Contradiſtion, or Endeavours to do ill Offices to the Catholicks. He farther promis'd, that if any Order ſhould be procur'd from the King, during the Reſtraint he was then under, to the Diſadvantage of the Catholicks, he would ſuſpend any Obedience thereunto, until ſuch time as his Maſteſty ſhould be at Liberty, and might receive full Information on their Behalf. And upon the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*'s poſitive undertaking thoſe Particulars, and the Lord Lieutenant having ratify'd and confirm'd all the Marqueſs had engag'd himſelf for, General *Preſton*, and all the Officers under his Command, Sign'd this enſuing Engagement.

We

WE the General, Nobility, and Officers of the The Irish  
 Confederate Catholick Forces, do solemnly bind General  
 and engage our selves, by Honour and Reputation Preston,  
 of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by the sacred Pro- and his Of-  
 testation upon the Faith of Catholicks in the pre- ficers, en-  
 sence of Almighty God, both for our selves, and (as Engage-  
 much as in us lies) for all Persons that are, or shall ment.  
 be under our Command, That we will from the Date  
 thereof forward, submit and conform our selves  
 entirely and sincerely to the Peace concluded and pro-  
 claim'd by his Majesty's Lieutenant, with such addi-  
 tional Concessions and Securities, as the Right Hon.  
 Allick L (to be remov'd) Marquess of Clanrickard, hath  
 undertaken to procure & secure to us, in such Manner,  
 and upon such Terms as is express'd in his Lordship's  
 Undertaking and Protestation of the same Date, here-  
 unto annex'd, and Sign'd by himself: And we upon  
 his Lordships Undertaking, engage our selves, by the  
 Bond of Honour and Conscience abovesaid, to yield en-  
 tire Obedience to his Majesty, and to his Lieutenant  
 General, and General Governour of this Kingdom, and  
 to any deriving Authority from them by Commission,  
 to command us in our several Degrees, and according  
 to such Orders as we shall receive from them, faithfully  
 to serve his Majesty against all his Enemies or Rebels,  
 as well within this Kingdom, as in any other Part  
 of his Dominions, and against all Persons that shall  
 not joyn with us upon these Terms, in Submission to the  
 Peace of this Kingdom, and to his Majesty's Authority.  
 And we do farther engage our selves, under the said  
 solemn Bonds, that we will never, directly nor indirect-  
 ly, make use of any Advantage or Power, wherewith we  
 shall be intrusted, to the obliging of his Majesty or his  
 Ministers, by any kind of Force to grant unto us any  
 thing beyond the said Marquess of Clanrickard's Un-  
 dertaking but shall wholly rely upon his Majesty's  
 own free Goodness, for what farther Graces and  
 Favours he shall graciously please to confer upon his  
 faithful Catholick Subjects, according to their O-  
 bedience

bedience and Merit in his Service. And we do farther protest, that we shall never think our selves disoblig'd from this Engagement, by any Authority or Power whatsoever, provided, on both Parties, that this Engagement and Undertaking be not understood, or extend to debar and hinder his Majesty's Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, from the Benefit of any farther Grace or Favour, which his Majesty may be graciously pleas'd to concede to them upon the Queen's Mediation, or any other Treaty abroad.

*The Mar-  
ques of  
Clanrick  
ard make  
General of  
the Army.*

This was done about the End of November, 1646. The Nuncio, with the other Army under Owen O'Neal, having been about the same time compell'd to raise the Siege, and to retire for want Provision; whereupon the Marquess of *Clanrickard* was made (by the Lord Lieutenant) General of the Army, and was accordingly receiv'd as such by General *Preston's* Army being drawn in Battallia, and General *Preston* received, at the same time, a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant to command as Sergeant Major General, and immediately under the Marquess of *Clanrickard*; and shortly after General *Preston* had Order from the the Lord Lieutenant, to march with as strong a Body as he could draw out of his Garrisons, to *Kilkenny*, where he promis'd to meet him with his Army, that so, being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the Peace.

When the Marquess was come within less than a Day's March of the Place assign'd by General *Preston* for the meeting and joyning their Forces together, the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, who attended upon the Lord Lieutenant, receiv'd a Letter from *Preston* to this Effect.

*Defection  
of Pre-  
ston's Of-  
ficers.*

That his Officers, being not Excommunicated Proof, were fallen from him to the Nuncio's Party, and therefore wished that the Lord Lieutenant

would

would proceed no farther, but expect the Issue of a General Assembly that would be shortly convened at Kilkenny, where, he doubted not, but things would be set right by the Consent of the whole Kingdom, which, he said, would be much better for his Majesty's Service, than to attempt forcing the Peace upon those who were so averse to it.

Upon this new Violation of Faith, the Mar-quis was compell'd, after some Weeks Stay in his Quarters, to return again to *Dublin*, where the Commissioners who had been lately there from the two Houses of Parliament, had sow'd such Seeds of Jealousy and Discontent; and the Treachery and perfidious Carriage of the *Irish* had awaken'd them to such terrible Apprehensions, that the Inhabitants refus'd to contribute further to the Payment and Support of the Army, and, in truth, were so far exhausted by what they had paid, and so impoverish'd by their total Want and Decay of Traffick and Commerce, that they were not able much longer to contribute; so that the Marquis was forc'd in the cold and wet Winter, to draw out his half starv'd and half naked Troops, only to lye in the Enemy's Quarters, where yet he would suffer no Act of Hostility to be committed, or suffer any thing to be taken but Victuals for the Subsistence of his Men: And in this uneasy Posture he resolv'd to expect the Result of the next General Assembly, which he suppos'd could not be so constituted but that it would abhor the Violation of their former Contracts and Agreements, and the inexcusable Presumption and Proceeding of the Congregation of the Clergy at *Waterford*, and that it would vindicate the Honour and Faith of the Nation from the Reproaches it lay under, and from the extravagant Jurisdiction and Power which the Nuncio had assum'd to himself to exercise over the Kingdom: But he quickly found himself again dis-

The Mar-  
quis re-  
duc'd to  
great  
Hardships.

Strange  
Proceed-  
ings of the  
General  
Assembly:

disappointed. and (to the universal Wonder of all) the new Assembly publish'd a Declaration of a very new Nature. For whereas the Nuncio and his Council had committed to Prison those Noblemen and Gentlemen who had been Commissioners in treating and concluding the Peace, and had given out Threats and Menaces, that they should lose their Heads for their Transgressions, the Assembly presently set them at Liberty, and declar'd *That the Commissioners and Council had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned themselves in the said Negotiation, pursuant, and according to the Trust reposed in them; and yet in the same Declaration, declar'd, That they might not accept of or submit unto, the said Peace; and did thereby protest against it, and did declare the same invalid and of no Force, to all Intents and Purposes; and did further declare, That the Nation would not accept of any Peace not containing a sufficient satisfactory Security for the Religion, Lives, Estates and Liberties of the said confederate Catholicks* and what they understood to be sufficient and satisfactory for Religion, appears by the Propositions publish'd before by the Congregation at *Waterford*, which they had caus'd the People to swear that they would insist upon, and which instead of providing a Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion, had, in truth, prov'd for the Extirpation of the Protestants, when they should think fit to put the same in Execution. Nor was the only Argument and Excuse which they publish'd for these Proceedings, more reasonable than the Proceedings themselves, which was, *That the Commissions and Promises made unto them by the Earl of Glamorgan, were much larger, and greater Security for their Religion, than those consented to by the Marquess: Whereas, in truth, those Commissions and Promises made by the Earl, were disown'd and disavow'd by the Lord Lieutenant* before

before the Conclusion of the Peace, and the Earl committed to Prison for his Presumption; which, tho' it produc'd some Interruption in the Treaty, yet was the same after resum'd, and the Peace concluded and proclaim'd upon the Articles formerly mention'd: So that the Allegation of what had been undertaken by the Earl of Glamorgan, can be no Excuse for the violating the Agreement afterwards concluded with the Marquess.

This last wonderful Act put a Period to all Hopes of the Marquess, which Charity and Compassion to the Kingdom and Nation, and his discerning Spirit, what inevitable Ruin and Destruction both must undergo from that Distemper of Mind which possess'd them had so long kept against his Experience and Judgment; and they whose Natures, Dispositions, and Interests made them most averse from the Rebels of England, and grew more affrighted at the Thoughts of falling under the Power of the Irish: So that all Persons of all Humours and Inclinations who liv'd under his Government, and had Dislikes and Jealousies enough against each other, were yet united and reconcil'd in their Opinions against the Irish. The Council of State besought the Lord

Lieutenant *To consider whether it were possible to have any better Security from them for the Performance of any other Agreement he should make, than he had for the Performance of that which they now recede from and disclaim; and since the Spring was coming on, whereby the Number, Power, and Strength of their Enemies would be increased on all Sides, and their Hopes of Succour or Relief for themselves was desperate, and so it would be only in his Election, in whose Power he would put those who had deserv'd as well from his Majesty by doing and suffering as Subjects could do, into the Hands of the English, who could not deny them Protection and Justice, or of the Irish, who had not only des-*

*The Royal Cause render'd desperate.*

*Reasons for putting Dublin into the Hands of the English rather than of the Irish.*

*poil'd*

poil'd them of their Fortunes, and prosecuted them with Animosities and Cruelty, but declar'd by their Carriage, that they were not capable of Security under them: They therefore intreated him to send again to the two Houses of Parliament, and make some Agreement with them, which might probably be for their Preservation; whereas with the other, what ever could be done, was evident for their Destruction.

That which, among other things of Importance, made a deep Impression on the Marquess was, the Knowledge that there had been from the Beginning of those Treaties, a Design in the principal Contrivers of them, entirely to alienate the Kingdom of Ireland from the Crown of England, to extirpate not only the Protestants but all the Catholics who were derived from the English, and who, in truth, are no less odious to the old Irish, than the other, and to put themselves into the Protection of some foreign Prince, if they should find it impossible to erect some of the old Families; and how wild and extravagant soever the Attempt might be reasonably thought, in regard, not only all the Catholics of the English Extraction, (who were in Quality and Fortune much superior to the other) but many noble and much the best Families of the ancient Irish, perfectly abhorr'd and abominated the same: Yet it was apparent that the violent Part of the Clergy that then govern'd had really that Intention, and never intended more to submit to the King's Authority, who soever should be intrusted with it; and it had been propos'd in the last Assembly, by Mr. Anthony Martin and others, that they should call in a foreign Prince to their Protection; and the exorbitant Power assum'd by the Nuncio, was earnest enough how little more they meant to have to do with the King, and gave no less an Umbrage, Offence, and Scandal to the Catholics

of Honour and Discretion, than it incens'd those who bore no kind of Reverence to the Bishop of *Rome*.

Upon this Consideration, the Marquess believ'd it much more prudent and agreeable to the Trust depos'd in him, to deposite the King's Interest, and the Rights of the Crown, in the Hands of the Lords and Commons of *England* who still made great Professions of Duty and Submission to his Majesty, and from whom (how rebellious soever their present Actions were) it might probably return to the Crown, by Treaty or otherways in a short time, than to trust it with the *Irish*, from whom nothing less than a chargeable War would ever recover it, in what State soever the Affairs of *England* should be; and how lasting, bloody, and costly the War might prove by the Intermedling and Pretences of foreign Princes, was not hard to conclude.

While the Marquess was in this Consultation and Deliberation, he receiv'd Information, that the King was deliver'd by the *Scots* to the Commissioners of the two Houses of Parliament, who were then treating with him for the settling of peace in all his Dominions; and about the same time, Persons of Quality arriv'd at *Dublin*, having been privately dispatch'd with Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure, upon the Advertisement he had receiv'd of the Condition of *Ireland*, to his Purpose; That if it were possible for the Marquess to keep *Dublin* and the other Garrisons under the same entire Obedience to his Majesty: But if there were, or should be, a Necessity of giving them up to any other Power, he should rather put them into the Hands of the English, than the *Irish*, which was the Rule the Marquess was to guide himself by, who had likewise other very important Considerations, which (if all the rest had been away) had been enough to have inclin'd him to that Resolution.

The

The King was now in the Power and the Hand of those who rais'd the War against him, principally upon the Credit of those Reproaches and Scandals that had perswaded the People to a Belief of his Inclination to Popery, and of his contriving, or, at least, countenancing the Rebellion in *Ireland*, in which so much Protestant Blood had been so wantonly and cruelly let out. The Cessation formerly made and continu'd with those Rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily enter'd into, had been the most unpopular Act the King had ever done, and had wonderfully contributed to the Reputation of the two Houses of Parliament; if according to the general Opinion then current, there should a Peace ensue between the King and them, (as most Men conceiv'd) the King's Forces being totally suppress'd, there must be a compliance by his commanding to many Grants, which they ought not in Duty to have demanded; (for few Men suspected such prodigious Wickedness to be in their Purpose, as was after executed) and so his Majesty would lose nothing by the Parliament's being possess'd of *Dublin*, and the other Towns therein in the Disposal of the Lord Lieutenant: On the contrary; if they intended, indeed, to pursue his Majesty with continu'd and new Reproaches, and thereby to make him so odious to his Subjects that they might with more Facility and Applause execute their horrible Conspiracy against his Life, there could be nothing so disadvantageous to his Majesty, as the Surrender of *Dublin* to the Irish Confederates, which being done by the King's Lord Lieutenant, who was known so punctually devoted to his Obedience, would be easily interpreted to be by his Majesty's Directions, and so make a Confirmation of all they had publish'd of that kind; and among the ignorant seduc'd People might have been a Countenance to (though nothing

nothing could be a Justification of) their unparallel'd Dealings.

Hereupon the Marquess took a Resolution, since *The Mar-ques's pro-poses to de-liverDub-  
lin to the English Rebels.* he could not possibly keep it himself, to deliver into the Hands of the *English*; and to that purpose sent again to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, that he would surrender *Dublin* and the other Garrisons to them, upon the same Conditions they had before offer'd; and they quickly dispatch'd their Ships, with Commissioners, Men, Money, and all other Provisions necessary to take the same into their Possession.

The Confederate Catholicks were no sooner inform'd of this, but they sent away to the Lord Lieutenant an Overture of Accommodation, (as they call'd it) yet the Messengers intrusted by them were so wary, lest, by accepting indeed what they propos'd, they might be oblig'd to a Conjunction, that they refus'd to give their Propositions in Writing; and when, upon their Discourse, the Lord Lieutenant had written what they had propos'd, and shew'd it to them, albeit they could not deny but that it was the same, yet they refused to Sign it, whereby it was very natural to conclude the Overture was made by them, only *which a-larms the Irish Con-federates.*

It may lay some Imputation upon the Marquess, of not being necessitated to agree with the two Houses of Parliament, rather than with any Purpose of submitting to the King's Authority. At last, being far press'd, that they found it necessary to let the Marquess know in plain Terms, what he was to submit to; they sent him a Message in Writing, in which they declar'd *That they must insist upon the Their O-positions of the Clergy, formerly mention'd to be ventur'd to  
him.* that if he would have a Cessation with them, he should promise not to receive any Force from the two Houses of Parliament in Six or Seven Months; not proposing any Way in the mean time, how his

E

Majesty's

Majesty's Army should be maintain'd, but by full Submission to all their unreasonable Demands.

Notwithstanding all which, the Parliament failing to make speedy Performance of what they had promis'd, and the Marquess having it there by in his Power fairly to comply with the Irish if they had yet receiv'd the Temper and Discretion that might justify him; he sent again to them as well an Answer to their Overture of Accommodation, as an Offer not to receive any Force from the two Houses for the Space of three Weeks if they would, during that time, submit to a Cessation, that a full Peace might be concluded and agreed upon; to which Motion they never vouchsafed to return any Answer. About the same time Owen O Neal wisely foreseeing that the Nuncio or the supreme Council, did not enough consider or foresee the evil Consequences that would naturally attend the Lord Lieutenant's being compell'd to leave the Kingdom, and to put Dublin and other Garrisons into the Possession of the English Rebels, sent his Nephew, Daniel O Neal to the Marquess with a Message, *That if the Marquess would accept of a Cessation for twelve Months, which he believ'd the Assembly or supreme Council would propose, (with what Mind soever) he would promise to undertake to continue it for twelve Months, and in that time he would use his utmost Power to procure a Peace.*

*Message  
from O  
Neal to  
the Mar-  
quess.*

*His Cha-  
racter.*

Owen O Neal was a Man of a haughty and positive Humour, and rather hard to be inclin'd to submit to reasonable Conditions, than easy to incline them or break his Word when he had committed. The Lord Lieutenant return'd him answer That if would he give him his Word to continue a Cessation for a full Year, he would accept when propos'd by the supreme Council for twelve Months, and he would in the mean time wave a

farther

by other Treaty with the Parliament. But he  
 e De at him word, He would not bind himself to  
 s Promise longer than fourteen Days, if he  
 amem not in that time receive such a positive  
 at the ect of his Overture, as he expected. *Owen*  
 there *Neal* accepted of the Conditions, and with *He writes*  
 e Irish possible Speed dispatch'd his Nephew, *Daniel* *to the Su-*  
 Discre *Neal*, to the supreme Council at *Clonmell*, with *preme*  
 them Letter containing his Advice, and another to *Council for*  
 accom Bishop of *Clogher*, (his cheif Confident) to *a Cessation*  
 Force om he sent Reasons at large, which ought to  
 Weeks uce the Nuncio to desire such a Cessation. But *His Ad-*  
 t to en the Council receiv'd the Letter, and knew *vice how*  
 clude t the Lord Lieutenant expected an Answer with- *receiv'd.*  
 vouch fourteen Days, they resolv'd to return none till  
 e time fourteen Days should be expir'd; and in the  
 Nuncio an time committed *Daniel O Neal* to Prison,  
 cont at he might not return to his Uncle; and  
 wou en the time was past, they releas'd him, on con-  
 g com ion he should return no more into his Quar-  
 Dubli s; so that in the End the Commissioners from  
 of the two Houses having perform'd all on their Parts  
 O Ne at was to be perform'd, the Marquess deliver'd *The Mar-*  
 if t Dublin, and the other Garrisons, into their *quess con-*  
 r t ands, and was transported, with his Family, into *strain'd to*  
 upren gland, where they admitted him to wait upon *deliver up*  
 ver) e King, and to give his Majesty an Account of his *Dublin,*  
 twel ansactions, who receiv'd him most graciously *&c. to the*  
 utmo a Servant who had highly merited of him; *English*  
 d fully approv'd of what he had done. *Rebels,*  
 and Since then, upon the most strict and impartial Exa- *and leave*  
 in'd nation of those Proceedings, Malice it self cannot *Ireland.*  
 y to a colourable Imputation upon the Marquess, of  
 ad co e Want of that Fidelity and Discretion which  
 answ s requisite to preserve his Majesty's Inte-  
 inue t, or of any Absence of a singular Affection  
 cept d Compassion towards the People, who have  
 for t e Honour to be of the same Nation with him;  
 ave a y endeavour'd to get it believ'd, by dark and

obscure Expressions, that in the Articles he made before the Delivery of *Dublin*, he intended his own particular Benefit and Advantage, and objected to him, that he consented to have thirteen thousand Pounds paid to his own use and behoof, and that the same was paid by them and received by him accordingly; and so they would persuade the World, that the Person who frankly exposed the greatest Fortune and Estate that any Subject had in either of the three Kingdoms, and who, while he was possessor of any Part of it, made all worthy Men, in Want, Owners of it with him, could betray a Trust for a vile Sum of Money, and could be so sottish as to make the infamous Bargain, and insert it into the Article which were to be view'd and perus'd by all Men, whereas he might as easily have driven that Traffick with such Secrecy, that it could never have been discover'd, if he had meant it should be secret: And therefore how impertinent soever this Discourse may appear, those who (knowing the Impossibility of the Scandal) think any thing like a Vindication to give too much Honour to it, yet it may not be altogether useless to set down the whole Matter, that the Malice and indiscretion of the Calumniator may be more evident, which was as follows.

*Vindication of the Marquess.*

When the Confederate Catholicks so totally violated and disclaim'd the Peace, which had been with all Solemnity agreed and enter'd into, and were preparing to unite all their Armies under an entire Obedience to the Nuncio, that they might in an Instant seize upon *Dublin*, and the few other Garrisons where the Kings Authority was submitted unto, the pressing Necessities and Straights the Lord Lieutenant was then in, are before mention'd and remember'd; The Fortifications and Works were in most Places too weak to keep out an Enemy; No Magazine of Victuals to endure

ure a Seige ; No Money to retain Soldiers from mutinying, till he might obtain Relief from *England* ; (which he must have been compell'd to desire) There was no Way to prevent the fatal Issue of those Distresses, but by procuring a present Supply of Money, which might in some Degree provide for each Extremity ; and for the compassing thereof, he brought in all his own Money, which, upon the Sale or Mortgaging of several Parcels of his Estate, he had rais'd for the Support of himself and his Family, and became likewise bound to other Persons for considerable Sums, with an express Promise, upon his Honour, that whatsoever Course he should be compell'd to take, if he should be forc'd to deliver *Dublin* into the Hands of the Parliament, (which was the most visible Remedy all Men foresaw would, in case of Necessity, be laid hold of) he would make such Conditions for the Repayment of the Money, which upon that Occasion, should be lent, that he would not himself quit the Place till it were perform'd : And by these Means alone, and upon these Terms, he procur'd so much Money as compos'd the present Distemper of the Soldiers, and supply'd those Wants that could not be borne.

This was so publick an Engagement, that no Man could be ignorant of it, insomuch as before the first Overture for a Treaty was sent to the Parliament, the Privy-Council, after they had advis'd the Lord Lieutenant to demand all that he had disburs'd upon the publick Service, and what he had been hinder'd from receiving of his own Rents, by those who commanded under the Parliament, and in their Quarters (which the Marquess refus'd to do) appointed Sir *James Ware* Auditor General to his Majesty, and one of the Privy-Council, to examine the Accounts of those Disbursements which had been laid out upon the Garrisons, and borrow'd and disburs'd upon the Conditions aforesaid ; and upon his Certi-

ficate, the Lords of the Council declar'd by a  
 Instrument under their Hands, that the Sum  
 amounted to thirteen Thousand Pound  
 thirteen Shillings and four Pence; a Du-  
 plicate of which Certificate was sent to the  
 Parliament by those Gentlemen who were first  
 sent to demand a Treaty, and the Commissioners  
 who came first to *Dublin*, frankly, and without  
 Dispute, consented to pay the same; so that  
 that Sum of Money had been the Considera-  
 tion of delivering the Town, it would not have  
 been so long after. When he was a second time  
 necessitated to send to the Parliament, and offer  
 to put the Town into their Hands, upon the Con-  
 ditions before consented to by them, he demanded  
 that 8000 *l.* of the Money might presently be paid  
 in *England* to Persons intrusted by him, and 3000  
 at *Dublin* before the Delivery of the Town, to-  
 wards the Satisfaction of what had been borrowed  
 as aforesaid; and that Bills of Exchange, accepted  
 by good and responsible Merchants, might be de-  
 liver'd to him; all which they consented to, and  
 promis'd to perform: But when the Commis-  
 sioners came to *Dublin*, the Bills which they brought  
 for 10000 *l.* were not accepted, nor drawn  
 in such manner as might make them valid  
 upon which failing on their Part, the Lord Lieu-  
 tenant made those last Offers to the *Irish*, which  
 are before remember'd: But finding no good could  
 be done there, he was content to take the Words  
 and Protestations of the Commissioners, that the  
 said 10000 *l.* should be paid as soon as they arriv'd  
 in *England*; which they were again so far from  
 making good, that they paid him only in con-  
 siderable Sums at several Payments, and had  
 the greatest Part still in their Hands when he was  
 forc'd to leave the Kingdom, and which he could  
 never recover from them, they paying it to some  
 of the Creditors without any Consent of his, and

only to  
whose

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only to such as had Interest among them, and for whose Sake alone they paid the same.

If the Marquess would have been so careful and solicitous for himself, as in Justice and Honour he might have been, he might well have insisted to have had the two Houses of Parliament to have paid him a greater Sum of Money which was due to him by their own Contract, as Lieutenant General of the Army, to the Cessation, which would have amounted to no less than \_\_\_\_\_ and which was paid into their Hands upon that Accompt, and he might likewise have demanded a Recompence, as arising out of the Revenue of his Land which lay in their Quarters, which they had for some Years hinder'd him from receiving, and taken the same to their own use; and no Question, if he had demanded either, or both of those just Payments, the *English* would easily have comply'd with him; and his Friends had much more reason to have reproach'd him for not requiring the one, than his Enemies have for receiving the other; but his too nice Consideration of what the Malice of Men might say, prevail'd more with him than the sober Conclusion of what he might in Justice and Honour have done, to wave all manner of Conditions which might be thought singly to relate to his own particular Advantage and Benefit, how reasonable and just soever.

It was in the time when the Army had gotten the King into their Hands, (having taken him from *Holmby* out of the Custody of the Commissioners, to whom the *Scots* had deliver'd him) that the Marquess arriv'd in *England*, and found so many specious Pretences and Professions publish'd by that Party, Treachery of the English Army. who then had the whole Power in the Army, and consequently in the Kingdom, that very many believ'd his Majesty's Affairs to be in no ill Condition, and more seeming Respect was paid to his Person, and less Restraint upon the Resort of his faithful Servants, to him, than had been from the Time

The Mar-  
quess  
waits on  
his Maje-  
sty.

And ac-  
quaints  
him with  
his Care  
for his Ma-  
jesty's Ser-  
vice.

that he put himself into the *Scots* Power. The Army then took upon them the Government of the Kingdom, having solemnly declar'd, *That there could be no reasonable Hope of a firm and lasting Peace, if there was not as special Care taken to preserve the Interest of the King, Queen, and Prince, as of the Liberty of the People, and that both should with equal Care be provided for together*: And in this Time of Freedom and hypocritical Compli-  
ance, the Marquess had all the Liberty of waiting on the King, and gave him then an Account of all Actions, and the Course he had taken for re-  
viving and preserving his Interest in *Ireland*, by settling a Correspondence with many Persons of Honour there which would keep the two Houses of Parliament from obtaining any absolute Do-  
minion in that Kingdom, if they refus'd to re-  
turn to his Majesty's Obedience, (how great an Advantage soever he had given them by the De-  
livery of *Dublin* into their Hands) and who were most like to reduce that Nation from the Distem-  
per with which they were transported, and to incline them to that Submission that was due from them to the King. With all which (as he had great Reason) his Majesty was very graciously and abundantly satisfy'd, and gave the Marquess Direc-  
tion, in case the independent Army should proceed otherways than they pretended, how he should be-  
have himself, and comply with the *Irish*, if he could reduce and dispose them to be instrumental towards his and their own Delivery; and when he discover'd by the double Dealing and hypo-  
critical Demeanour of the Officers of the Army, (of whom he had earlier Jealousy than other Men, as seeing farther into their dark Design) the little Good they meant him, and so found it fit to receive Overtures from the *Scots* Com-  
missioners, who were still admitted to reside at *London*, and to bear a Part in the Managery of the  
publick

publick Affairs, and now saw that the Independents  
 Power, which they had so much despis'd, was  
 grown superior to them, and that they meant to  
 perform nothing less than what they had so re-  
 giously promis'd before the King was deliver'd  
 up at *Newcastle*. The King commands the Mar-  
 quefs to confer with the principal Persons of that  
 Commission, who seem'd very sensible of the Dis-  
 honour their Nation had incurr'd, and resolv'd by  
 uniting the Power of that Kingdom for his Maje-  
 sty's Service, to undo some of the Mischiefs they  
 had wrought, and desir'd that the Marquefs of  
*Ormond* would likewise transport himself into Ire-  
 land, to try once more if he could compose the  
 Humours of that People to his Majesty's Obedience,  
 that so those two Kingdoms being entirely re-  
 uc'd to their Duty, might (with that Assistance  
 they were like to find in *England*) perswade the  
 violent Party to comply with those moderate and  
 just Conclusions which would establish the Peace  
 and Tranquility of the Whole, in a full Happiness  
 to Prince and People: And from hence was that  
 first Engagement design'd, which was so unfortu-  
 nately conducted by the elder Duke of *Hamilton*,  
 and concluded with the Ruin of himself, and many  
 worthy and noble Persons.

Original  
 of Duke of  
 Hamil-  
 ton's En-  
 gagement.

When the Army had, by their civil and speci-  
 us Carriage and Professions, dispos'd the King's  
 Party to wish them, at least, better than the *Pres-*  
*byterians*, (who seem'd to have erected a Model of  
 more formidable and insupportable Tyranny, and  
 were less endue'd with the Appearance of Huma-  
 nity and good Nature) and had by shuffling them-  
 selves into new Shapes of Government, and ad-  
 mitting Persons of all Conditions to assemble and  
 make Propositions to them, in order to a  
 publick Peace, given Encouragement to most  
 men to believe, that all Interests would, in  
 the Degree, be provided for, and so had  
 brought

brought themselves into an absolute Power over all Interests ; they began to lessen their outward Respect and Reverence to the King, to inhibit some of his Servants absolutely to resort unto him and more to restrain the frequent Access of the People, who out of an innate Duty and Affection, delighted to see his Majesty, They caus'd Reports to be rais'd and scatter'd abroad of some Intentions of desperate Persons of Violence upon his Majesty's Person ; and upon this Pretence doubled their Guards, and put Officers of more strict Vigilance and morose Disposition about him, so that whatsoever he said, did, or was said to him, was more punctually observ'd. The Marquis of Ormond was look'd upon with a very jealous Eye, and was one of those noble Persons who were known too faithful to his Master to be suffer'd to be near him, and therefore was forbid to continue his Attendance on him.

*The Rebels more strictly confine the King.*

*Violate their Articles with the Marquis.*

*And banish him from London.*

The Articles that had been made with him at *Dublin* by the Commissioners, and confirm'd by the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, were every way violated and infring'd, in the most important Particulars, As in the Imprisonment of *Sir Faithful Fortescue*, whose Security was provided for by the Articles, In the Delay that was us'd in the Payment of the Money due to him, And where as he was to reside in any Part of *England* he pleas'd, in all Freedom, for the Space of one Year without the Imposition of any Oath or Engagement, and at the End thereof he had Liberty to transport himself and his Family into what foreign Parts he pleas'd : As soon as they began to be unmask'd towards his Majesty, they banish'd the Marquis from *London*, forbidding him to come within Twenty five Miles of the City ; and all this before he had ever spoke with the *Scots* Commissioners, or given them the least Shadow of Pretence against him, saving only that of having

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Heart impossible to be corrupted towards his Master, and an Hand likely to be of use to him : And shortly after the King was in the Isle of Wight, Directions were given to apprehend and seize upon the Marquess of Ormond, who there-  
 upon concluding from their wicked Carriage and barbarous Demeanour to his Majesty, whom they had now made their Prisoner in the Castle of Carisbrooke, that it would be very impertinent for him to insist upon the Performance, and expostulate for the Breach of the Agreement which had been made with him, he with all Secrecy transported himself out of the Kingdom, and arriv'd safely in France about the End of the Year 1647, having spent in England little more, from the time that he came out of Ireland, than Six Months.

And give  
Orders to  
seize him.

He secretly  
leaves  
England  
& arrives  
in France.

The Marquess no sooner found himself at Liberty, and out of the Reach of his Enemies, than he projected again to visit Ireland, where his Presence was impatiently longed for ; when he had left that Kingdom upon the Breaches so often repeated by the Irish, and their stupid Submission to the Pope's Nuncio, (as is before remember'd) he had specially recommended to the Marquess of Clanrickard and Viscount Taaffe (who had from the Beginning, without the least Pause, preserv'd their Duty to his Majesty entire and being Roman Catholicks had publickly oppos'd the unreasonable and extravagant Usurpation of the Nuncio) to use their utmost Power and Dexterity to retain the Affection of that Party of the Irish, who had been very desirous that the former Peace might have been effectual, and were really inclin'd to pay all Obedience to his Majesty, so that they might not be drawn under the Subjection of the Nuncio, but be ready again to submit to the King's Authority, when it should appear again in the Kingdom, and if the Affairs of England should be without Hopes of Composure : And

He projects  
again to  
visit Ire-  
land.

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And accordingly the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, by his Interest and Authority in the Province of *Conanght*, dispos'd the People to a Temper, ready to be apply'd to those Ends he should direct them. And Viscount *Taafe* commanded a good Army of Horse and Foot in the Province of *Munster*, firmly united to obey him in any Action that might contribute to the King's Advantage: The Forces under the Nuncio were much weaken'd, partly by the Defeat of General *Preston*, whose Army was totally routed and destroy'd by the Parliaments Forces, within less than a Month after they had compell'd the Marquess to leave the Kingdom, and partly by the Dislike which the great Council of the confederate Catholicks had of the Demearour of the Nuncio, and the Experience they now had of his ill Conduct, and the Miseries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the Peace which would have been so advantageous to them.

The Lord *Inchequin*, whom (shortly after the first Cessation was consented unto by the Lord Lieutenant) the *Irish*, contrary to their Faith had endeavour'd to surprize, and get the Towns in *Munster*, under his Command, into their Hands, and thereby compell'd him to defend himself against them by a sharp War, in Which he had given them many Overthrows, and in a Manner driven them out of that Province, held Correspondence with the Marquess of *Ormond* whilst he was in *England*; and as soon as he came into *France*, desir'd him to make what haste he could into *Ireland*, where he should find the Army under his Command, and all the important Towns in that Province ready to submit to him, to be conducted by him in the King's Service, any Way he should command; and in the mean time he made an Agreement with the *Irish*, under the Command of the Marquess of *Clanrickard* and the

Lord In-  
chequin  
invites  
him into  
Munster.

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Lord Taaffe with the Approbation of the supreme Council of the confederate Catholicks, and sent them Part of his Army to assist them in an Expedition they were then enter'd upon against the Nuncio and *Owen Roe O Neal*, in which they prevail'd so far, that *Owen O Neal* found it necessary to retire into the great Towns, and they drove the Nuncio himself to the Town of *Gallway*, where they besieg'd him so close with the Army, that they compell'd the Town, after near two Months Siege, to pay a good Sum of Money to be distributed among the Soldiers, and to disclaim any further Subjection or Submission to the Nuncio's unlimited Jurisdiction; who after he had, with less Success than formerly, issued his Excommunications against all those who comply'd with the Cessation of the Lord *Inchequin*, was compell'd, after so much Mischief done to the Religion, which he was oblig'd to protect, in an obscure Manner, to fly out of the Kingdom.

The confederate Catholicks make War against the Nuncio.

and besiege him in Gallway.

The Nuncio compell'd to fly from Ireland.

And because the impudent Injustice and Imprudence of the Nuncio, and the Subjection of the People to his immoderate and imprudent Humour and Spirit, was, in Truth, the real Fountain from whence this Torrent of Calamities flow'd, which hath since overwhelm'd that miserable Nation; and because that exorbitant Power of his was resolutely oppos'd by Catholicks of the most eminent Parts and Interests, and (in the End though too late) expell'd by them, it will be but Justice to the Memories of those noble Persons, who themselves and their Ancestors have been eminent Asserters of the *Roman* Religion, and never departed from a full Submission to that Church, precisely to collect the Sum of that unhappy Person's Carriage and Behaviour, from the time, that he was first design'd to that Employment to the End, that the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and the *Irish* Nation may discern what they owe to his Activity

Activity and Government, and that the World may judge how impossible it was for the Marquess of *Ormond* to preserve a People, who so implicitly resign'd themselves to the Councils, Directions, and Disposal of such a Nature and Disposition; and in doing hereof no other Language shall be us'd, than what was Part of a Memorial deliver'd by an honest and zealous Catholick, who was intrusted to complain of the insufferable Behaviour of the Nuncio to the Pope himself, which was in these very Words speaking of the Nuncio; wherein he declar'd,

*Memorial  
to the Pope  
against the  
Nuncio.*

**T**HAT, before he left *Rome*, he would not admit, either in his Company, or his Family, any Person of the *English* Nation. In his Voyage, before he arriv'd at *Paris*, he wrote to his Friends in *Rome*, with great Joy, the News (altho' it prov'd after false) that the *Irish* Confederates had treacherously surpriz'd the City of *Dublin*, while they were in truce with the Royal Party, and treating about an Accommodation of Peace. Arriving at *Paris*, (where he shut himself up for many Months) he never vouchsafed (I will not say) to participate with the Queen of *England* any thing touching his Nunciature, but not in the least Degree to reverence or visit her Majesty, (save only one time upon the Score of Courtesy) as if he had been sent to her Capital Enemy, and not to her own Subjects. Being arriv'd in *Ireland*, he employ'd all his Power to dissolve the Treaty of Peace with the King, which was then almost brought to Perfection, and his Diligence succeeded, on which he valu'd himself, rejoyc'd and insulted beyond Measure, in his Letters he wrote to *Paris*, which were after shew'd to the Queen, and he may say truly that in that Kingdom, he hath rather manag'd the  
“ Royal

Scepter, than the Pastoral Staff; for that he aimed more to be held the Minister of the supreme Prince of *Ireland* in *Temporalibus*, than a Nuncio from the Pope in *Spiritualibus*; making himself the President of the Council, he hath manag'd the Affairs of the supreme Council of State; he hath by his own Arbitriment excluded from it those who did not second him, though, by Nobleness of Birth, by Allegiance, by Prudence, and by Zeal to Religion, they were the most honourable; and only because they shew'd themselves faithful Subjects to their natural Prince, and Friends to the Quiet of their Country; of these he hath caus'd many to be imprison'd, with great Disgrace and Scandal of Sedition: In short, he hath assum'd a distributive Power both in Civil and Military Affairs, giving out Orders, Commissions, and Powers under his own Name, subscrib'd by his own Hand, and made authentick with his Seal for the Government of the Armies, and of the State, and Commissions for Reprisals at Sea. He struck in presently after his Arrival in *Ireland*, with that Party of the Natives who are esteem'd not only irreconcilable with the *English*, but the greatest and best Part of the *Irish* Nobility, as likewise with the most Civil and most Considerable People of that Island; and the better to support that Party and Faction, he hath procur'd the Church to be furnish'd with a Clergy and Bishops of the same Temper, excluding those Persons who were recommended by the Queen, and who for Doctrine and Virtue were above Exceptions; and all this contrary to what your Holiness was pleas'd to promise. The Queen was not yet discourag'd, but so labour'd to renew the Treaty of Peace, already once broke and disorder'd

“ der’d by Monsieur *Rinuccini*; that by Means of  
 “ her Majesty it was not only reassum’d, but in the  
 “ End, after great Disputes and Opposition on  
 “ his Part, the Peace was concluded between the  
 “ Royal Party and the confederate Catholicks, and  
 “ warranted not only by the King’s Word, but also  
 “ by the Restitution of Arms, Castles and Forts,  
 “ and of the Civil Magistrates, with the Posses-  
 “ sion of Churches and Ecclesiastical Benefices,  
 “ and with the free Exercise of the Catholick  
 “ Religion; and all this would have been ex-  
 “ hibited by a publick Decree, and authentick  
 “ Laws made by the three Estates assembled in  
 “ a free Parliament: By this Peace and Confe-  
 “ deracy they would have rescu’d themselves from  
 “ the Damages of a ruinous War, have purchas’d  
 “ Security to their Consciences and to their  
 “ temporal Estates, honour’d the Royal Party  
 “ and the Catholicks in *England* with a certain  
 “ Restitution and Liberty of the King, where-  
 “ on depended absolutely the Welfare of the  
 “ Catholicks in all his Kingdoms; the Aposto-  
 “ lical Chair had acquitted it self of all En-  
 “ gagements and Expence with Honour and Glory.  
 “ This Treaty of Peace, on all Sides so desira-  
 “ ble, Monsieur *Rinuccini* broke with such Vio-  
 “ lence, that he forc’d the Marquess of *Ormond*,  
 “ Vice-Roy of *Ireland*, to precipitate himself  
 “ (contrary to his Affections and Inclinations)  
 “ into the Arms of the Parliament of *England* to the  
 “ unspeakable Damage of the King and of the  
 “ Catholicks, not only of *Ireland* but also of *Eng-  
 “ land*; he insens’d the greatest and best Part of  
 “ the *Irish* Nobility, and render’d the venerable  
 “ Name of the Holy Apostolick Chair odious  
 “ to the Hereticks, with small Satisfaction  
 “ to the Catholick Princes themselves of  
 “ *Europe*, as though it sought not the spiri-  
 “ tual good of Souls, but a temporal la-  
 “ tereft

“terest by making it self Lord over *Ireland*; and  
“when the Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Biron* en-  
“deavour’d, on the Marquess of *Ormond*’s Part,  
“to incline him to a new Treaty of Peace, he  
“did not only disdain to admit them, or to ac-  
“cept the Overture, but understanding that the  
“Lord *Biron*, with great Danger and Hazard,  
“came to a Town in the County of *Westmeath*,  
“where he was to speak with him; he forc’d  
“the Earl, which was the chief Lord of it, to  
“send him away (contrary to the Laws of Cour-  
“tesy and Humanity) in the Night time, expos’d  
“to extraordinary Inconveniences and Dangers  
“amongst those Distractions protesting, that o-  
“therwise he himself would immediately depart  
“the Town. By these Proccedings, Monsieur *Ri-*  
“*nuccini* hath given the World occasion to believe  
“that he had private and secret Commission to  
“change the Government of *Ireland*, and to sepa-  
“rate that Island from the Crown of *England*; and  
“this Opinion is the more confirm’d, since that  
“one *Mahoni*, a Jesuit, hath printed a Book in  
“*Portugal*, wherein he endeavours to prove,  
“that all the Kings of *England* have been either  
“Tyrants or Usurpers of *Ireland*, and so fall’n  
“from the Dominion of it, exhorting all its Na-  
“tives to get thither, and to use all Cruelty a-  
“gainst the *English*, with Expressions full of Vil-  
“lany and Reproach, and to chchose a new King  
“of their own Country; and this Book so barba-  
“rous and bloody, dispers’d through *Ireland*, is,  
“as yet credited by the Catholicks and Aposto-  
“lick there, and the Continuation of the History  
“of Cardinal *Baronius* was publish’d at the same  
“time, under the Name of *Olderico Raynaldo*,  
“in which he positively endeavours to establish  
“the supreme Right and Dominion of the Apo-  
“stolical Chair, even in *Temporalibus*, over Eng-  
“land

F

“ *land and Ireland* : I leave to every Man to  
 “ consider whether all these Actions are not ap-  
 “ enough to beget Jealousies and naughty Blood  
 “ and whether I ought not, out of great Respect  
 “ to the publick Good, to represent with some  
 “ Ardency to your Holiness, the Actions of Mon-  
 “ sieur *Rinuccini*, so unpleasant and directly con-  
 “ trary to those Ends, for which it is suppos’d he  
 “ was employ’d : And I beseech your Holiness  
 “ if any King, not only Protestant but Catholick,  
 “ had seen an Apostolick Nuncio to lord it in his  
 “ Dominions in such a Manner as Monsieur *Ri-*  
 “ *nuccini* had done in *Ireland*, what Jealousy,  
 “ what Complaints, and how many Inconvenien-  
 “ cies would thereby follow.

This was Part of that Remonstrance presented  
 to the Pope himself, by an eminent Catholick  
 Minister of great Reputation, on Behalf of the  
 Catholicks of *Ireland*, who, instead of being re-  
 liev’d and supported, were oppress’d and destroy’d  
 by the Nuncio; and I presume this Extract will  
 be of greater Authority and Credit with the  
 World, to inform them of the Proceedings there,  
 than any thing started abroad in an idle Pamphlet  
 can be towards the incensing them against a Per-  
 son of Honour, whom they know not : And I  
 heartily wish that the Passion and Unskilfulness  
 of that haughty Prelate, may either have an In-  
 fluence upon the Catholicks to discern the ex-  
 ceeding ill Consequence that must naturally attend  
 such violent and unnatural Interposition, or it may  
 alienate the Affections of Princes from complying  
 with a Power that will prescribe no modest or ci-  
 vil Limits and Bounds to its self, and incline the  
 Affections of Protestants to Animosities or uncha-  
 ritable Conclusions, that the papal Chair affects  
 Sovereignty over the Hearts of her Children,  
 which

which is inconsistent with that Duty they owe their Prince, and thereupon to abhor a Conjunction with those to whom they should perform all the Duties and Offices of Christianity, Love, and Friendship, and with whom they ought to contribute a joint Subjection and Allegiance to the King, according to the Laws and Policy of the Kingdom, of which they are Subjects.

After the Marquess of Ormond had, in vain, solicited Supplies of Money in France, to the end that he might carry some Relief to a Kingdom so harrafs'd and worn, and be the better able to unite those who would be sure to have Temptation enough of Profit to go contrary to the King's Obedience, he was at last compell'd, being with great Importunity call'd by the Lord of Inchequin, and the rest who upheld his Majesty's Interest, to transport himself unfurnish'd with Money, Arms, or Ammunition. and without any other Retinue than his own Servants, and three or four Friends; and in this Equipage he arriv'd in Ireland about the end of September, in the Year 1648, and landed at Cork, where he was receiv'd by the Lord Inchequin, Lord President in the Province of Munster. It must not be forgotten, that during the time the Marquess was in France, and after the Parliament Forces had, upon so great Inequality of Numbers, defeated the Irish, and in all Encounters driven them to their Fastnesses, the confederate Catholics had easily discern'd the Mischiefs they had brought upon themselves, by forcing the King's Authority out of the Kingdom, and introducing another which had no Purpose of Mercy towards them; therefore they had sent the Ld. Marquess of Antrim, the Ld. Viscount Muskerry, and others, as their Commissioners to the Queen of England, and to her son the Prince of Wales, who were both then at Paris, To beseech them (since by

*The Mar-  
quess in  
vain soli-  
cits sup-  
plies from  
France.*

*Arrives in  
Ireland  
with a  
small Re-  
tinue.*

reason of the King's Imprisonment they could not be suffer'd to apply themselves to his Majesty ) to take Compassion of the miserable Condition of Ireland, and to restore that Nation to their Protection, making ample Professions and Protestations of Duty, and of applying themselves for the future, to his Majesty's Service, if they might once again be own'd by him, and countenanc'd and conducted by his Authority. Thereupon the Queen and Prince had answer'd those Persons, that they would shortly send a Person qualifi'd to treat with them, who should have Power to give them whatsoever was requisite to their Security and Happiness. With which Answer they return'd well satisfy'd into Ireland; so that as soon as the Lord Lieutenant was landed at Cork, he wrote to the Assembly of the confederate Catholicks then at Kilkenny, that he was, upon the humble Petition which they had presented to the Queen and Prince, come with full Power to conclude a Peace with them, and to that Purpose, (that as little time might be lost as was possible) that Commissioners might be sent to him at his House at Carrick, whither he would go to expect them, within Fourteen Miles of the Place where the Assembly then sat, who were so much gladder of his Presence, by the Obligation they had newly receiv'd from the King's Authority; for when the Nuncio and Owen O Neal had thought to have surpris'd them, and compell'd them to have renounc'd the Cessation, the Lord Inchequin being sent unto by them for his Protection, had march'd with his Army to their Relief, forc'd O Neal over the Shannon, and thereby restor'd them to Liberty and Freedom: So that they return'd a Message of Joy and Congratulation to the Lord Lieutenant for his safe Arrival, and appointed Commissioners to treat with him at the Place appointed. It was the 19th

*Writes to  
the Assembly  
at Kilkenny.*

*Commissioners sent to  
treat with  
the Mar-  
quess.*

of October that the Commissioners come to Carrick,  
 House of the Marquess, where they continu'd  
 Twenty Days, which they spent principally in  
 Matters of Religion; in treating whereof they  
 were so bound and limited by other Instructions,  
 and could make so little Progress of themselves,  
 being still to give an Account to the Assembly of  
 whatsoever was propos'd or offer'd by the Lord  
 Lieutenant, and to expect its Determination and  
 Direction before they proceeded, that for the hus-  
 banding of Time, which was now very precious,  
 the Rebels of England every Day more discove-  
 ring their bloody Purpose towards the King) the  
 Assembly thought fit to desire the Lord Marquess  
 to repair to his own Castle at Kilkenny, which they  
 offer'd to deliver into his Hands, and that for his  
 Honour and Security he should bring his own  
 Guards, who should have that Reception due to  
 them: And upon this Invitation, about the Middle  
 of November, he went to Kilkenny; before his En-  
 try into which, he was met with the whole Body  
 of the Assembly, and all the Nobility, Clergy,  
 and Country; and in the Town was receiv'd with  
 all those requisite Ceremonies, by the Mayor and  
 Aldermen, as such a Corporation useth to pay to  
 the supreme Authority of the Kingdom; so that  
 greater Evidence could not be given for an entire  
 Union in the Desire of returning to the King's O-  
 bedience, or of more Affection and transport to  
 the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, who (by his  
 steady Performance of those Professions he had al-  
 ways made by his Neglect and Contempt of the  
 Rebels, and their prodigious Power while he  
 was in England, and by his refusing all Overtures  
 made by them unto him for his Particular Benefit,  
 if he would live in the Kingdom, and by their de-  
 clar'd manifest Hatred and Malice towards him)  
 was now Superior to all the Calumnies they had  
 aspers'd

*The Mar-  
 quess in-  
 vited to  
 Kilkenny  
 by the As-  
 sembly.*

Peace con-  
cluded.

aspers'd him with, and confess'd him to be worthy of a joynt trust from the most different or divided Interests and Designs. However, there were so many Passions, Humours, and Interests to be comply'd with, and all Conclusions to pass the Approbation of so many Votes, that it was the middle of *January* before all Opinions could be so resolv'd as to produce and perfect an entire Contract and Agreement, which about that time pass'd with that miraculous Consent and Unity, that in the whole Assembly, in which were the Representatives of all the Clergy, there was not one dissenting; So that on the Seventeenth of *January* the whole Assembly repair'd to the Presence of the Lord Lieutenant, in his Castle at *Kilkenny* and there, with all Solemnity imaginable, presented him, by the Hand of their Chairman or Speaker, the Articles of Peace as concluded, assented and submitted unto by the whole Body of the Catholick Nation of *Ireland*, which he receiv'd and solemnly confirm'd on his Majesty's Behalf, and caus'd the same that Day to be proclaim'd in the Town, to the great Joy of all that were present; and it was with all Speed accordingly proclaim'd, and as joyfully receiv'd in all the Cities and Towns which profess'd any Allegiance to the King throughout the Kingdom; and for the better Reception thereof among the People and to manifest the Satisfaction and Joy they took in it the Catholick Bishops sent out their Letters and Declarations, that they were abundantly satisfy'd in whatsoever concern'd Religion and the secure Practice thereof.

When the Articles of Peace were presented in that solemn Manner to him by the Assembly after the Speech made by the Presenter, the Lord Lieutenant express'd himself in these Words,

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" by the  
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*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I Shall not speak to these Expressions of Duty  
 “ and Loyalty, digested into a Discourse <sup>Lord Lieu-  
 tenant's</sup>  
 by the Gentleman appointed by you to deliver <sup>Speech to  
 the Assem-  
 bly.</sup>  
 your Sense; You will presently have in your  
 Hands greater and more solid Arguments of his  
 Majesty's gracious Acceptance, than I can com-  
 memorate, or, perhaps, your selves discover;  
 for besides the Provision made against the remo-  
 test Fears, fear of Severity of certain Laws,  
 and besides many Freedoms and Bounties con-  
 vey'd to you and your Posterity by these Arti-  
 cles, there is a Door, and that a large one, not  
 left, but purposely set open to give you En-  
 trance, by your future Merit, to whatsoever of  
 Honour and Advantage you can reasonably  
 wish; so that you have in present Fruition  
 what may abundantly satisfy, and yet there are  
 no Bounds set to your Hopes, but you are ra-  
 ther invited, or, to use another Phrase, ( but to  
 another and better Purpose ) you seem to have  
 a Call from Heaven to exercise your Arms and  
 uttermost Fortitude, in the noblest and justest  
 Cause the World hath seen; for let all the Cir-  
 cumstances, incident to a great and good Cause,  
 be examin'd, and they will be found compre-  
 hended in that which you now are warrantably  
 call'd to defend; Religion, not in the narrow  
 circumscrib'd Definition of it, by this or that  
 late found out Name, but Christian Religion is  
 our Quarrel, which certainly is as much and  
 totally struck at ( I may say more ) by the blas-  
 phemous Licence of this Age, than ever it was  
 by the rudest IncurSIONS of the most barbarous  
 and avow'd Enemies to Christianity; The ve-  
 nerable Laws, and the fundamental Constituti-  
 ons of our Ancestors are troden under impious,  
 “ and

“ and ( for the most part ) mechanick Feet ! The  
 “ sacred Person of our King ( the Life of those  
 “ Laws, and Head of those Constitutions ) is un-  
 “ der an ignominious Imprisonment, and his Life  
 “ threatned to be taken away by the sacrilegious  
 “ Hands of the basest of the People that owe  
 “ him Obedience ! And ( to endear the Quarrel  
 “ unto you ) the Fountain of all the Benefits you  
 “ have but now acknowledg’d, and which you  
 “ may further hope for by this Peace, and your  
 “ own Merit, is in danger to be obstructed by  
 “ the execrable Murder of the worthiest Prince  
 “ that ever rul’d these Islands ! In short, He  
 “ can add nothing to the desperate Mischiefs now  
 “ openly projected : And now judge if a greater  
 “ and more glorious Field was ever set open  
 “ for Action, and then prepare your selves to enter  
 “ into it, receiving those few Advices from him  
 “ that is throughly embark’d with you in this  
 “ Adventure.

“ First, let me recommend to you, that to this  
 “ as to all holy Actions, ( as certainly this is )  
 “ you will prepare your selves with perfect  
 “ Charity ; a Charity that may obliterate what  
 “ ever Rancour the long continu’d War may have  
 “ contracted in you, against any that shall now  
 “ co-operate with you in so blessed a Work : And  
 “ let his Engagement with you in this ( whoever  
 “ he is ) be, as it ought to be, a Bond of Unity  
 “ of Love, and of Concord, stronger than the  
 “ nearest Tye of Nature.

“ In the next place, mark and beware of those  
 “ who shall go about to renew Jealousies in you  
 “ under what Pretence soever, and account such  
 “ as the infernal Ministers employ’d to promote  
 “ the black Design on foot, to subvert Monarchy  
 “ and to make us all Slaves to their own avarice  
 “ and vicious Lusts. Away as soon, and as much as

“ possible

possible may be, with Distinctions of Nations and Parties, which are the Fields wherein the Seeds of those rancorous Weeds are sown by the great Enemy of our Peace.

"In the last place, let us all divest our selves of that preposterous and ridiculous Ambition and Self-Interest, which rather leads to our own threaten'd general Ruin, than to the Enjoyment of Advantages unreasonably desir'd; and if at any time you think your selves pinch'd too near the Bone by those Taxes and Charges that may be impos'd for your Defence; consider then how vain, how foolish a thing it will be, to starve a Righteous Cause for Want of necessary Support, to preserve our selves fat and gilded Sacrifices to the Rapine of a merciless Enemy: And if we come thus well prepar'd to a Contention so just on our Part, God will bless our Endeavours with Success and Victory, or will crown our Sufferings with Honour and Patience: For what Honour will it not be (if God hath so determin'd of us) to perish with a long glorious Monarchy? And who can want Patience to suffer with an oppress'd Prince? But as our Endeavors, so let our Prayers be vigorous, that he may be deliver'd from a more unnatural Rebellion, (than is mention'd by any Story) now rais'd, to the highest Pitch of Success against him.

"I should now say something to you as to my self, in Retribution to the advantageous Mention made of me, and my Endeavours in the bringing this Settlement to pass; but I confess my Thoughts are taken up with those much greater Concernments; let it suffice, that as I wish to be continu'd in your good Esteem and Affection, so I shall freely adventure upon any Hazard, and esteem no Trouble or Difficulty

“ too great to encounter, if I may manifest any  
 “ Zeal to this Cause, and discharge some Part  
 “ of the Obligations that are upon me to serve  
 “ this Kingdom.

It will not be here necessary to insert the Articles of the Peace which are publickly known to the World, it is enough to say that the Lord Lieutenant granted all that was enough in the Judgment of all the *Roman Catholick Bishops*, and even of the Bishop of *Fernes*, requisite to a peaceable secure Profession of that Religion, with such Countenance of, and Support to it, as from the first planting of it, it had never ( in some Respects ) been possess'd of in that Kingdom, but was likewise compell'd so far to comply with the Fears and Jealousies of divers, ( who by often breaking their Faith, and from a great Guilt, were apprehensive that all that was promis'd to them might not be hereafter observ'd ) as to divest himself of that full and absolute Power that was inherent in his Office, and was never more fit to be exercis'd than for the carrying on of that Design, in which they seem'd all to agree, and to make Twelve Commissioners ( nam'd and chosen by the Assembly to look to the Observation and Performance of the said Articles, until the same should be ratify'd in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament ) joint Sharers with him in his Authority; so that he could neither levy Soldiers, raise Money, or so much as erect Garrisons without the Approbation of the major Part of those Commissioners; the Danger of which Limitation and Restraint, he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that People, and composing them to an entire Confederacy in the Peace, ( which could be compass'd no other Way ) was so necessary, that he could not sacrifice too much to it: and then

then the Affections and Abilities of the Commissioners were so well known and approv'd by him, that having most of them inclin'd to the same good End with him, he presum'd he should, with the less Difficulty, be able to perswade them which were the nearest and most natural Ways that conduc'd thereunto.

With what Consent and Unity soever this Peace was made, by those who had any Pre-  
 sence to Trust, or to whom there was the least Deputation of Authority and Power by the Nation, yet *Owen O Neal* ( who had the greatest Influence upon the Humours and Inclinations of the *Irish*, who had given themselves up to the Nuncio, and who indeed had a better disciplin'd, and consequently a stronger Army, at his Command, than the confederate Catholics had at their Devotion ) still refus'd to submit to it so that the Lord Lieutenant, as soon as the Peace was concluded, was as well to provide against him, to remove some Garrisons he held, which infested those who obey'd the Act of the Assembly, and to prevent his Incursions, as to raise an Army against the Spring, with which to march against the *English* Rebels who were possess'd of *Dublin*, and all the Country, and important Places in that Circuit, and who ( he was sure ) would be supply'd with all the Assistance of Shipping, Men, Money, Victuals and Ammunition, which the inhumane and bloody Rebels of *England* ( who had now murder'd their Sovereign, and incorporated themselves under the Name and Title of a Commonwealth ) could send to them ; and he was in a worse Condition to prevail against both these, by the unhappy Temper and Constitution of the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who being very numerous and possess'd of the strong Towns, tho' they abhorr'd the *English* Rebels, and were not reconcil'd to

*O Neal*  
*refuses to*  
*submit to*  
*the Peace,*

The many  
Difficulties  
the Mar-  
quess had  
to struggle  
with.

*Owen O Neal* and his Army, were yet as uninclin'd to the Peace made with the confederate Catholicks; and far from paying an Obedience and full Submission to the Orders and Government of the Lord Lieutenant maintaining at the same time the *Prebyterian* Form in the Church, and an utter Independency in the State; and out of those contradictory Ingredients, compounded such a peevish and wayward Affection to the King, as could not be apply'd to the bearing any Part in the great Work the Marquess was incumbent to. So that whosoever will wisely revolve and consider this wild Juncture of Affairs, and that towards the subduing the Pride, Strength, and Wealth of the *English* Rebels, and the equal Malice and Headiness of *Owen O Neal*, and his Party, as much or, in truth, more contracted against the confederate Catholicks than the King's Authority, and to the forcing and disposing the useless and unprofitable Pretences of Affection in the *Scots*, and reducing them to Obedience, the Marquess brought over with him neither Men nor Money, nor any Advantage but that of his own Person, Wisdom, and Reputation, and was now, upon the Peace, to constitute an Army, not only of several Nations and Religions, and of such Passions and Superciliousness in those Opinions which flow'd from their several Religions, but of such Men who, for above the Space of Eight Years, had prosecuted a sharp War against each other, with all the Circumstances of Animosity, Rapine, and Revenge, and who were now brought into this Reconciliation and Conjunction, rather, by the wonderful Wisdom and Dexterity of the principal Commander, than by their own Charity and Inclination; and that in the forming of this Army, he had not above Six or Seven Officers, upon whose Skill in martial Affairs, and Affection to

him,

him, he could with any Confidence depend, but was to make use of very many who were utterly unknown to him, and such who either had no Experience in the War, or who had always been in the War against him. I say, whosoever without Passion considers all this, will rather wonder that the Marquess did not sink under the Weight of the first Attempt, nay, that he could proceed with Success in any one Enterprize, than that an Army so made up, should, upon the first Mis-adventure, be dissolv'd into Jealousies and Prejudices amongst themselves, and that all Confusions should follow which naturally attend such Compositions.

As soon as the Peace was thus concluded, proclaimed and accepted, the Lord Lieutenant took the Survey of the Stores of Arms and Ammunition, and other necessary Provisions for an Army, which was to be brought together in the Spring, and found all very short of what he expected, and (what in truth was absolutely necessary to the Work,) the Ways for raising Money, with which all the rest was to be supply'd, in no Degree to be depended on; the Cities and incorporate Towns, where (upon the Matter) all the Wealth was, having never submitted further to the general Assembly, than by declaring themselves to be of their Party, like so many Common-wealths, order'd all Contributions and Payments of Money by their own Acts and Determinations, nor would, upon the most emergent Occasion, suffer any Money to be rais'd in any other Proportion, than best agreed to their Humour and Convenience; so that the Commissioners advis'd the Lord Lieutenant to make a Journey in Person to such of those Corporations as were best able to assist him, and by his own Presence and Interest, endeavour to perswade them to express that Affection

on

*Lord Lieutenant borrows Money of the Towns.*

*Promotions in the Army.*

*Earl of Castlehaven take some of O Neals Garrisons.*

*Rendezvous of the Army.*

on for the Peace that they had profess'd. Whereupon he went, with a competent Number of Commissioners, to *Waterford*; and from thence to *Lymrick*, and then to *Galway*, from which several Places he procur'd the Loan of more Money, Corn and Ammunition, than the great Assembly had ever been able to do; and by these Means, which cost him much Labour and Time, he found himself in a Condition to draw several Forces together; which he did about the beginning of May, having made the Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant General of the Army; The Earl of *Castlehaven*, Lieutenant General of the Horse; And the Lord *Taaffe*, Master of the Ordnance; and it being thought fit to lose as little Time as might be in marching towards *Dublin*, as soon as any considerable Number of Men were once together, he sent the Earl of *Castlehaven* with them, to take in several Garrisons which were possess'd by *Owen O Neal* in the *Queens County* which was the Way he intended to march, and so would have no Enemy in the Rear; and accordingly the Earl took the Fort of *Maryborough*, and other Places in that County, and *Athy* and *Reban* in the County of *Kildare*, whereby the Passage was open'd for a further March. Having in this Manner begun the Campaign, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a general Rendezvous of the whole Army of *Cloghgrenan*, a House of his own upon the River *Barrow*, near the Castle of *Catherlough*, where he made a Conjunction of all the Forces, Protestants, and Roman Catholics, who, (by the Wisdom and Temper of the Principal Officers) mingled well enough, and together, about the end of May, made a Body of 3700 Horse, and 14500 Foot, with a Train of Artillery consisting of Four Pieces of Ordnance: But when they were now met, all the Money which could be rais'd by the

the Commissioners, or which had been rais'd by  
 the incorporate Towns, was so near spent in draw-  
 ing the Soldiers out of their Quarters, and in those  
 short Expeditions into the Queen's County, and  
 County of *Kildare*, that they could not have ad-  
 vanc'd in their March, if the Lord Lieutenant had  
 not, upon his personal Credit, borrow'd 800 l. of  
 a private Gentleman, (to whom the same stills  
 remains due) by means whereof he gave the  
 common Soldiers Four Days Pay, and so march'd  
 about the beginning of *June*, from *Cloghrenan*,  
 and the same Evening appear'd before *Talbot's*  
 Town, a strong Garrison of the Enemies, which  
 together with *Castle Talbot*, (two Miles distant  
 from the other) was within Three Days surren-  
 der'd to the Marquess, on promise of Quarter.  
 From thence he march'd to *Kildare*, which Town  
 was likewise in a short Time surrender'd to him,  
 where he was compell'd to stay Three or Four  
 Days, both for want of Provision, and a Recruit  
 of two Thousand Foot, which, by the Lord In-  
 bequin's Care, were then upon the March; and  
 being joyn'd he was in Hopes, by a sudden and  
 speedy March, to have engag'd *Jones*, who at that  
 time was march'd a good Distance from *Dublin*  
 with his Army; and so having encourag'd his Sol-  
 diers with three Days Pay, (which he was likewise  
 compell'd to borrow on his Credit, out of the  
 pockets of Persons of Quality attending on him,  
 and of the Officers of the Army) he pass'd the  
 River *Liffey*, and *Jones* having gotten Intelli-  
 gence of his Motion, in great Disorder rais'd his  
 Camp and retir'd into *Dublin*.

\* Sir James  
Preston.

The Mar-  
quess takes  
in Tal-  
bot's Town  
and Castle  
Talbot,

And Kil-  
dare.

Obliges  
Jones to  
raise his  
Camp.

The Marquess encamp'd the whole Army at the  
*Naas*, twelve Miles from *Dublin*, that he might ma-  
 turely deliberate what was next to be undertaken  
 or attempted, being now about the middle of *June*:  
 That which appear'd worthy of Debate, was whe-

*Council of War.*

*Resolve to attempt the taking of Dublin.*

*The Lord Lieutenant marches towards Dublin.*

whether the Army should first make an Attempt upon *Dublin*, in which it was believ'd there were very many, both Officers and Soldiers, and other Persons of Quality, well affected to the King's Service, and who had formerly serv'd under the Marquess, and esteem'd him accordingly, who might make that work more easy; or whether it should be first apply'd to the taking in of *Tryn Drogheda*, and other out Garrisons, from whence the City receiv'd much Provision of all Kind, and from whence Provision to the Army would be cut off, and much other Prejudice might arise. But upon full Consideration, the Council of War, which consisted of the General Officers, inclin'd to the Former, concluding, that if they could take *Dublin*, all other Places would quickly fall into their Hands; and if they should delay it, and waste their Provision in those lesser Attempts, there might probably arise out of *England* such Supplies of Men, Money and other Necessaries to the Rebels, which were daily expected, as might render that important Work almost impossible. Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant march'd the next Morning towards *Dublin*, and that Afternoon pass'd the whole Army again over the River *Liffey*, by the Bridge of *Lucan*, and encamp'd near that Place to rest his Men a few Hours; he march'd early in the Morning, being the 19th. of *June* at a Place call'd *Casth-Knock*, in View of the City; and hearing that *Jones* had drawn out all his Horse into the Green, not far from the Walls, he sent a Party of Horse and Musketeers to face them, while he drew his whole Body within less than Cannon shot of their Gates, hoping thereby to give some Countenance to those in the Town to raise some Commotion within; and having spent some Part of the Day in this Posture and Expectation, after some slight Skirmish

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smith between the Horse, he found it necessary to draw off, and encamp'd that Night at a Place two Miles from the Town, call'd *Einglas*, whither great multitude of *Roman* Catholicks (whereof most were aged Men, Women, and Children, whom *Jones* had turn'd out of the City) repair'd to him, whom he sent with all due order for their Reception to Quarters adjacent.

The Marquess was no sooner in his Quarters, than he receiv'd true Intelligence that *Jones* had sent his Horse to *Drogheda*, from whence they would have been able to have distress'd his Army several Ways, and to have intercepted his Provisions which came out of the Country out of the Magazines, which were at least Thirty Miles distant, and the Officers of the Army were of Opinion, upon the View they had taken that Day of the Enemy, and the Countenance they observ'd of their own Men, that they were not presently provided for a formal Siege, and as ill to attack the Town upon a brisk Attempt, and therefore he resolv'd to remain encamp'd at that Place for some time, whereby he might take the Advantage of any Opportunity that those within the Town would administer unto him; and presently sent the Lord *Inchequin*, Lieutenant General of the Army, with a strong Party of Horse to pursue the Rebels Horse, which were sent for *Drogheda*, which he did so successfully, that he surpriz'd one whole Troop, and afterwards encounter'd Col. *Coot*e in the head of Three Hundred Horse, whereof he slew many, and routed the rest, who in a disorder'd Haste fled into *Drogheda*. The Lord *Inchequin* presently sent advertisement of his Success, and that he had Reason to believe, that if he pursu'd this Advantage and made an Attempt on the Town, while the Terror possess'd the Rebels, he should make himself Master of it.

Lord In-  
chequin  
defeats  
Body of  
Jones's  
Horse.

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Whereupon, and in respect of the great Importance of the Place, the Reduction whereof would produce a secure Correspondence with, and give great Encouragement to the Scots in Ulster, who made great Professions of Duty to the King, and had now, under the Command of the Lord Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, driven Sir Charles Coote into the City of Londonderry, and (upon the Matter) beleagu'd him there; the Lord Lieutenant, by a Decree of the Council of War, approved the Design, and to that Purpose sent him two good Regiments of Foot, and two Pieces of Artillery, and such Ammunition and Materials as could be spar'd, wherewith he proceeded so vigorously, that within Seven Days he compell'd the Rebels to yield to Quarter, and reduc'd the Town to the King's Obedience.

Takes Dr. gheda.

There was now very reasonable Ground for hope that the *English* Rebels would quickly find themselves in notable Streights and Distresses, but it was on a sudden discern'd how very active and dexterous the Spirit of Rebellion is to reconcile and unite those who were possess'd by it, (how contrary soever their Principles and Ends seem to be) and to contribute jointly to the opposing and opposing that lawful Power, which they had both equally injur'd and provok'd.

The Parliament Party who had heap'd so many Reproaches and Calumnies upon the King for his Clemency to the *Irish*, who had ground'd their own Authority and Strength upon such Foundations as were inconsistent with any Tolleration of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and even with any Humanity to the *Irish* Nation, and more especially to those of the old native Extraction, the whole Race whereof they had, upon the Matter, sworn to extirpate; and Owen O'Neal himself being of the most ancient Sept, and his whole

Army

my consisting only of such who avow'd no o-  
 ther Cause for their first Entrance into Rebellion,  
 at Matter of Religion, and That the Power of  
 the Parliament was like to be so prevalent and  
 great, that the King himself would not be able to  
 extend his Mercy and Favours towards them,  
 which they seem'd to be confident he was in his  
 gracious Disposition inclin'd to express, and there-  
 fore profess'd to take up Arms against the exor-  
 tant Power only of them, and to retain Hearts  
 of Devotion and Duty to his Majesty; and he  
 himself, at present, by underhand and secret Trea-  
 ses with the Lord Lieutenant, seem'd more irre-  
 concilable to the Proceedings of the General As-  
 sembly, and to the Persons of those who govern'd  
 here, than to make any Scruple of submitting to  
 the King's Authority, in the Person of the Mar-  
 quess, to which and to whom he protested all  
 duty and Reverence: These two so contrary and  
 disagreeing Elements had, I say, by the subtle and  
 volatile Spirits of Hypocrisy and Rebellion, found  
 a Way to incorporate together, and Owen O Neal  
 and promis'd and contracted with the other, that  
 he would compel the Lord Lieutenant to retire  
 and draw off his Army from about Dublin, by  
 invading with his Army those Parts of Leinster  
 and Munster which yielded most, and indeed all,  
 the Provision and Subsistence to the Marquess, and  
 which he presum'd the Marquess would not suffer  
 to be spoil'd and desolated by his IncurSIONS:  
 for the better doing whereof, and enabling him  
 for this Expedition, Colonel Monke, Governour of  
 Wexford (and who was the Second Person in  
 command among the English Rebels) had pro-  
 mis'd to deliver him, out of the Stores of that  
 Garrison, a good Quantity of Powder, Bullet, and  
 Match proportionable; for the fetching whereof,  
 Owen O Neal had sent Farrell, Lieutenant General

O Neal  
 acts in  
 concert  
 with the  
 English  
 Rebels.

Inchequin  
defeats a  
Body of O  
Neal's  
Army.

Takes  
Dundalk.

And re-  
lieves other  
Garrisons.

O Neal re-  
lieves the  
English  
Rebels in  
London-  
derry.

of his Army, with a Party of Five Hundred Foot and Three Hundred Horse, at the time that *Drogheda* was taken by the Lord *Inchequin*, who being there advertis'd of that new contracted Friendship, resolv'd to give some Interruption to it, and made so good halte, that within few Hours after *Farrell* had receiv'd the Ammunition at *Dundalk*, he fell upon him, and routed all his Horse, so that of the 500 foot there were not Forty that escap'd, but were either slain or taken Prisoners, and got all the Ammunition, and with it, so good an Account of the present State of *Dundalk*, that he immediately encamp'd before it, and in two Days compell'd *Monke* (who else had been deliver'd up by his own Soldiers) to surrender the Place, where was a good Magazine of Ammunition, Cloaths, and other Necessaries for War, most of the Officers and Soldiers with all Alacrity engaging themselves in his Majesty's Service.

Upon this Success. the less Garrisons of *Newry*, *Narrow Water*, *Green Castle*, and *Carlingford*, were easily subjected, and the Lord *Inchequin*, in his Return, being appointed to visit *Trym*, the only Garrison left to the Rebels in those Parts, except *Dublin*, in two Days after he had besieg'd it, made himself Master of it, and so return'd with his Party (not impair'd by the Service) to the Lord Lieutenant, in his Camp at *Finglafs*.

*Owen O. Neal* still continu'd his Affection to the English Rebels, and when he found that his Design of drawing the King's Army from *Dublin* could not succeed, he hasted into *Ulster*, and upon the Payment of Two Thousand Pounds in Money, some Ammunition, and about Two Thousand Cows, he rais'd the Siege of *Londonderry*, the only considerable Place in that Province that held for the English Rebels, and which was even then

reduc'd

educ'd to Extremity by the Lord Viscount Mount-  
gomery of *Ardes*, and must in few Days have  
submitted to the King's Authority, if it had not been  
in that Manner reliev'd by the unfortunate *Irish*.

All the Places of Moment, near *Dublin*, being  
thus reduc'd, and the Lord *Inchequin* having put  
Garrisons competent into them, and yet return'd in-  
to the Camp with a stronger Party than he march'd  
out with. On the 24th Day of *July*, the Mar-

ques took a View of his whole Army, and found  
it to consist of no less than Seven Thousand Foot,  
and about Four Thousand Horse, which tho' a  
good Force, was not equal to the Work of form-  
ing a regular Siege of so large and populous a  
City as *Dublin*, and as unfit to storm it; there-  
fore it was resolv'd still to continue the former  
Design of streightening it, until the Necessities with-  
in abated the Obstinacy of that People; for the  
better doing whereof, the Lord Viscount *Dillon*,  
of *Costello*, was appointed to remain still on the  
North Side of the Town, with a Body of Two  
Thousand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse, to block  
it up, having two or three small Places of Strength  
to retire unto upon Occasion; and the Lord Lieu-  
tenant, the next Day, march'd with the Remainder  
of the Army over the *Liffey*, to the South Side,  
to a Place call'd *Rathmines*, where he resolv'd to  
encamp, and from whence, by Reason of the Nar-  
rowness of the River, he might discourage an At-  
tempt of sending Relief into the Town by Sea  
from *England*, and, in truth, if he had come time  
enough to have rais'd a Work upon the Point,  
some interruption might have been given to that  
Enterprize; but it pleas'd God that very same  
Day (the 25th of *July*) the Marques march'd  
thither, and in Sight of his Army, as it march'd,  
a strong Gale of Wind from the East, brought in-  
to *Dublin* Col. *Reynold*, and Col. *Venables*, with

Lord Lieu-  
tenant re-  
views his  
Army.

Encamps  
at Rath-  
mines.

Supplies to  
the Rebels  
arrive at  
Dublin,

a good Supply of Horse and Foot, Money, and all other Necessaries whereof the Garrison stood in Need, who marvelously exalted the Spirits of all those which were devoted to the Obedience of the Rebels, and depress'd the Minds of those who watch'd all Opportunities of doing Service to the King; however, the Marquess pursu'd his Resolution, and encamp'd that Night at *Rathmines*, and the next Day made himself strong there, till upon Information (he was sure to receive of the Enemies State and Condition) he might better conclude what was next to be done.

There were many honest Men within the City, who still found Ways to send the Marquess Advertisement of what was necessary for him to know, and some Ships that brought Supplies from and for the Rebels, brought likewise Intelligence from those that wish'd well to the King's Service, under the Lord Lieutenant, and other Persons of Honour that were with him, and from several Persons of known Integrity, and who were like enough to know what was transacted in the Council of the Rebels, it was inform'd that this Supply which was already landed at *Dublin*, was all that was intended for that Place, and believ'd to be sufficient to defend it against any Army they could bring to attack it, and that *Cromwell* who was enough known to be ready in *England* to embark with a great Army, meant to land in *Munster*, a Country lately fallen from their Devotion, and where there were still too many inclin'd to him, and thereby to compel the Lord Lieutenant to rise from *Dublin*; and it is very true, that at that time *Cromwell* was resolv'd to have proceeded in that Manner. Upon this joint Intelligence, for it came from some Persons to the Lord Lieutenant, and from others to the Lord *Inchequin*, it was upon Consultation with the general

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General Officers, concluded absolutely necessary that the Lord *Inchequin*, being President of *Munster*, should immediately, with a strong Party of *Inchequin* Horse, repair into that Province, whereby (at *send into* *Munster*) the Garrisons might be supported against any sudden Attempt of the Enemy, if they should land there; and that the Army being thus weakened by the Quality, as well as the Number of his Party, (who were the best Horse of the body) the Lord Lieutenant should retire to *Drumnah*, being a Quarter of greater Strength than that of *Rathmines* was or could be made, and at such Distance as might as well block up the Enemy as the other, and from thence an uninterrupted Communication might be had with that Party which was left on the North Side of the River; and upon this Conclusion the Lord *Inchequin* departed towards *Munster*.

When it was known that the Army was to retire, the Officers and Soldiers express'd much trouble, and seem'd to believe the reducing of the Town not to be a Matter of that Difficulty as was pretended; if they could hinder the Rebels Horse from grazing in the Meadows near the Walls, which was the only Place they were possess'd of to that Purpose, they could not be able to subsist Five Days, and it would be in their power to take that Benefit from them, if they possess'd themselves of the Castle of *Baggatrath*, very near adjoining to that Pasture, which was already so strong, that in one Night it might be sufficiently fortify'd: And this Discourse (which was not indeed unreasonable) got so much Credit, that the Council of War intreated the Marquess to decline his former Resolution of retiring to *Drumnah*; General *Preston*, Sir *Arthur Aston*, and Major General *Purcell*, having view'd the Place, assured the Lord Lieutenant that it

it might be possess'd, and sufficiently fortify'd one Night.

It is no Wonder that in an Army thus constituted and compos'd, the Marquess thought not by his Authority to restrain them from pursuing an Enterprize of so much Gallantry, and which had so much Possibility of Success, and indeed he still retain'd some Hopes of Advantage by the Affection of the City; and that even in those late Supplies that were sent over, there were many who laid hold of that Opportunity to transport themselves for the Advancement of the King's Service, and with Purpose quickly to change their Matters; so that he was contented to recede from his former Resolution, and on the First of August at Mid-night, sent a strong Party to possess themselves of *Baggatrath*, and with such Materials as were necessary to fortify it, and because he concluded that the Enemy would immediately discover what they were doing, and would use their utmost Endeavours to prevent the Execution of a Design which would bring such irreparable Damage to them, he gave strict Order for drawing the whole Army into Battalia, and commanded that they should stand in Arms all that Night, himself continuing in the Field on Horse-back till Morning; as soon as it was Day he went to visit the Place that was to be fortify'd, which he found not in that Condition he expected; the Officer excus'd himself by having been misguided in the Night, so that it was very late before he arriv'd there, wherewith the Marquess being unsatisfy'd, displaced the Officer who commanded the Party, and put another of good Name and Reputation into the Charge, and appointed him to make his Men work hard, since it appear'd, that in four or five Hours it might be so well fortify'd, that they need fear no Attempt from the Town; and that they might

Attempt to  
take and  
fortify  
Bagga-  
trath.

he sure to enjoy so much time, he commanded the Army to remain in the same Posture they had been all Night; and about Nine of the Clock, seeing no Appearance of any Sally from the Town, he went to his Tent to refresh himself with a little rest; which he had not obtain'd for the space of an Hour, when he was awaken'd by an Alarm from the Enemy, and putting himself immediately upon his Horse, quickly found that his Officers had not been so punctual in their Duty as they ought to have been, but had quitted their Posts as soon as the Marquis was gone to repose himself, (out of an unhappy Confidence that the Rebels would not adventure at that time of the Day to make any Sally) so that a strong Party out of the Town, at Ten of the Clock in the Morning, march'd directly to *Bagginrath*, and with less Opposition than ought to have been made, beat, routed, and dispers'd the Party that possess'd it; who finding their Horse not so ready to assist them as they expected, quitted the Place with all imaginable Confusion, which encouraged the Rebels who were seconded immediately by the whole Power in *Dublin* to advance further towards the Army, (which they discern'd to be in high Disorder) than at their coming out they intended.

*The Fatal  
Battle of  
Rathmines.*

The Lord Lieutenant us'd all Means to put the Horse in Order, sending the Lord *Taaffe* to command the Foot; But Sir *William Vaughan*, Commissioner General of the Horse, being in the first Charge kill'd, they who follow'd him were immediately routed, whereupon so great a Contention seiz'd upon the Spirits of all the rest, that the Marquis could prevail with none to stand with him, but the Regiment of his Brother, Col. *Butler*, and Col. *Grady*, with which he charged the Enemy, wherein Col. *Grady* being slain and his Brother sore wounded and taken Prisoner,

that Body was Entirely broken, and from that time it was not in his Power, by all the Means he could use, to rally any Party of Horse, or to make them so much as to stand by him; so that when he was even environ'd with the Enemy, and attended with very few of his own Servants, and two or three Gentlemen, he was forc'd to make his Way through them, and to quit the Field, when that small Body of Foot which still kept the Ground and valiantly defended themselves, finding that they were deserted by their Horse, were compell'd to surrender their Arms to the Rebels; the Lord *lauffe* making his own Way so prosperously, that he got to the North Side, where he found that Body that he left there, in Arms, and us'd all possible Endeavours to perswade them to attempt a Recovery of what was lost, which in so great Disorder of the Enemy (as such Success usually produces) had not been reasonably to be despair'd of; but the Apprehensions and Jealousies, the Fright and Terror, was so universal, that he could not incline them to it, nor do more than (and that in Confusion enough) than to provide for their own Security.

This was the unhappy and (indeed) fatal Defeat of *Rathmines*, which was the First and only Loss that ever fell upon any Army or Party of which the Marquess had the Name and Title (and God knows had here no more than the Name) of the supreme Commander, and these the whole Circumstances of it; so that what Fault, Defect, or Oversight of his contributed thereunto, or what he could have done more to have prevented it, Malice it self cannot suggest; and for the Matter of it self, tho' it must be, and is, confessed, that many Officers and Soldiers of the Army did not that Day discharge their Trust with Diligence, nor the Foot with any tolerable Cou-

age, and were on a sudden more confounded with Fear and Amazement, than was to be expected from the Cause they were to defend, and from their own Behaviour in former Actions; yet the Success on the Rebels Side, was in no Degree wonderful, the Advantage in Number being theirs, they who sall'y'd out of the Town, and were upon the Field, being effectively 3000 Foot and 1900 Horse, and the Army intamp'd at *Rathmines* were not so strong in Horse or Foot, and therefore it is nothing strange, that so well govern'd and disciplin'd Soldiers, under good Officers, should overcome a lesser Number of raw, new levy'd, and unpractis'd Men, under unexperien'd Officers, though possess'd of some Advantage of Ground; nor can the unfitness or unskilfulness in the Officers be imputed to want of Care in the Marquess, since they were not only such upon whose Interest Men were rais'd and brought together, and so consequently had a kind of Dependency upon them: but such as were recommended particularly to him by the General Assembly, and how unsatisfy'd they were with all their Officers, but those who were recommended by themselves; and how violently they protested against them, of how great Reputation soever they were for Courage, Conduct, and constant and unblemish'd Integrity to the King's Service, the ensuing Discourse will sufficiently set forth and declare.

When the Marquess found the Consternation to be so great in his Soldiers who fled away, that no considerable Number could be got together to make any Stand, tho' at some Miles Distance from the Action, and the other Part of the Army in *Angela's* Side, who had seen no Enemy, could not be contain'd from dispersing, he sent them Orders to march to *Trym* and *Drogheda* for the

After this  
Defeat the  
Lord Lieu-  
tenant re-  
tires to  
Kilkenny

Takes in  
Ballyso-  
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March,

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Pursuit.

Obliges  
Jones to  
raise the  
Siege of  
Drogheda.

Lord Lieu-  
tenant re-  
ceives Ad-  
vice of  
Cromwell's  
landing at  
Dublin.

strengthening of those Garrisons which he believ'd  
Jones might upon the Pride of his late Success  
be inclin'd to attack; and himself went to Kilkenny  
as the fittest Rendezvous to which he might rally  
his broken and scatter'd Forces, and from whence  
he might best give Orders and Directions for the  
making of new Levies; and in his March thither, the  
next Day after the Defeat at Rathmines, he made an  
Hault with those few Horse he had rally'd together  
and summon'd the strong Fort of Ballysolan, which  
he had before block'd up by a Party of Horse and  
Foot, and having found Means to perswade the  
Governour to believe that Dublin had been sur-  
render'd, and that his Army was returning, he  
got that important Place into his Hands, without  
which Stratagem, Jones would have persu'd his  
Conquest, even to Kilkenny, which he had found  
in a very ill Condition to defend it self, and in a  
whole Week's time, after his coming to Kilkenny,  
he could draw together but Two Hundred Horse  
with which he thought it necessary, within Eight  
Days after the Defeat, to march in Person to the  
Relief of Drogheda, which, according to his Ex-  
pectation, was besieg'd by Jones, and defended by  
the Lord Moore; upon the Approach of the Mar-  
quess no nearer than Trym, the Siege was rais'd,  
and Jones return'd to Dublin.

His Lordship entring Drogheda, whither he re-  
solv'd to draw his Army as soon as might be, if  
su'd out his Orders accordingly, hoping, in short  
time, if no other Misfortune interrupted, to get a  
good Body of Men together, and to restrain those  
in Dublin from making any great Advantage of  
their late Victory: But he had been there very  
few Days, when he receiv'd a very sure Adver-  
tisement, that Cromwell was himself landed, with  
a great Army of Horse and Foot and with vast  
Supplies of all Kinds, at Dublin, where he arriv'd

within

within less than a Fortnight after the unhappy De-  
 feat at *Rathmines*. The Scene was now alter'd,  
 and the War the Lord Lieutenant was to make,  
 could be only defensive, until the Rebels should  
 meet with a Check in some Enterprize, and his  
 own Men, by Discipline and Rest, might again  
 recover their Spirits, and forget the Fear, they  
 had contracted of the Enemy; he took Care  
 therefore to repair the Works and Fortifications <sup>Provides</sup>  
 at *Drogheda*, (as well as in so short a time could <sup>for the De-</sup>  
 be done) and to get as much Provision into the <sup>fence of</sup>  
 Town as was possible, and then with a full Appro- <sup>Drogheda.</sup>  
 priation of all the Commissioners, he made choice  
 of Sir *Arthur Aston*, a Catholick, and a Soldier of  
 great Experience and Reputation, to be Gover-  
 nour thereof, and put a Garrison into it of Two  
 Thousand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horse,  
 all choice Men and good Soldiers, with very many  
 Gentlemen and Officers of good Name and Ac-  
 count, and supply'd with Ammunition and all o-  
 ther Provisions, as well as the Governour himself  
 desir'd: And having done so much, he march'd  
 with his Horse and small Remainder of his Foot,  
 to *Trym*, whence he sent to the Lord *Inchequin* to  
 bring up as many Men as he could out of *Munster*,  
 now the Apprehension of *Cromwell's* landing there  
 was over;) and endeavour'd from all Parts to re-  
 cruit his Army, hoping, before the Rebels should  
 be able to reduce any of his Garrisons, he might  
 be enabled to take the Field.

It was about the beginning of *September* when  
*Cromwell* march'd out of *Dublin*, and with his whole  
 Army came before *Drogheda*, of which the Lord  
 Lieutenant was no sooner advertis'd, than he  
 came to *Trym* to watch all Opportunities to infest  
 his Quarters; and having all Confidence in the  
 Town, and in the Experience of Sir *Arthur Aston*,  
 the Goodness and Number of the Garrison, that  
 the

Cromwell  
takes  
Drogheda  
by assault,  
and puts  
the Garri-  
son to the  
Sword.

the Rebels could not be able to get the Town by any Assault. But here again he found himself disappointed; the Enemy resolv'd not to lose their time in the Siege, and therefore as soon as their Summons was rejected, they made a Breach with their Cannon, and storm'd the Place; and though they were for some time stoutly resisted, and twice beaten off, in the End they enter'd, and pursu'd their Victory with so much Cruelty, that they put the whole Garrison to the Sword, not sparing those upon second Thoughts, to whom in the Heat of the Action they promis'd and gave Quarter; so that except some few, who, during the time of the Assault, escap'd at the other Side of the Town, and others, who mingling with the Rebels as their own Men, disguis'd themselves as they were not discover'd, there was not an Officer, Soldier, or religious Person belonging to that Garrison, left alive, and all this within the Space of Nine Days after the Enemy appear'd before the Walls, when very many were even glad that they were engag'd before a Place that was like to be so well defended, and to stop their further Progress for that Season of the Year.

This, indeed was a much greater Blow than that of Rathmines, and totally destroy'd and massacred a Body of Two Thousand Men, with which, in respect of the Experience and Courage of the Officers, and the Goodness and Fidelity of common Men, the Marquess would have been glad to have found himself engag'd in the Field with the Enemy, though upon some Disadvantages.

He had not now left with him above 700 Horse and 1500 Foot, whereof some were of suspected Faith, and many new rais'd Men and though the Lord Inchiquin was ready to march toward him, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, and the Lord Viscount Ardes with the like Number

Scots, yet he had neither Money to give them  
the Days Pay, or Provision to keep them toge-  
ther Twenty Four Hours; the Commissioners  
were either dispers'd, or the Orders for collect-  
ing Money not exacted or regarded: And when  
in these Streights) the Lord Lieutenant issued out  
Warrants for the raising Men and Money, they  
complain'd of his Breach of the Articles of the  
Treaty, and talk'd among themselves of treating  
with the Enemy; that which was most advise-  
able, and which all Men saw was fittest to be  
practis'd, was, to put all their Men into Gar-  
risons, and thereby secure their most considerable  
Places and therewithal (Winter now approaching)  
to prosecute the Levies, and by good Discipline  
and Exercise of the Men, to recover their Spirits  
against the Spring. But (alas!) this was not at all in  
the Marquess's Power to do, he was restrain'd by  
the Articles of the Treaty from making any new  
Garrisons, and from changing any old Governours  
without the Approbation of the Commissioners,  
and he and the Commissioners together had not  
Credit and Power enough with the chief Cities  
and incorporate Towns, which were most worth  
keeping, and consequently most like to be at-  
tempted by the Rebels, to force or perswade  
them to receive Garrisons; so *Wexford*, *Water-*  
*ford*, and *Lymerick*, the most considerable Ports of  
the Kingdom, declar'd they would admit of no  
Soldiers, nor (indeed) did they further obey a-  
ny other Orders which were sent to them, than  
they thought fit themselves,

If this fatal Distemper and Discomposure had  
not been discover'd to be among them, it is not to be  
believed that *Cromwell* (whatsoever Success he had  
met with) would have engag'd his Army, which,  
with being long at Sea, change of Air, and hard  
Duty, was much weaken'd, and had contracted  
great

Cromwell  
besieges  
Wexford.

great Sickness in the Siege, after the beginning of *October*; yet being encourag'd and drawn on (in truth) by the Knowledge of this Humour and Obstinacy of the *Irish* against all Remedies which could preserve them, he march'd his Army before *Wexford*, the Inhabitants whereof appear'd willing to make Defence, albeit they had too long neglected the Means thereof, and were at last (when Part of the Rebels Army were lodg'd within half Musket shot of their Walls) contented to receive an Assistance of Men from the Lord Lieutenant, which, upon the first Intimation, his Excellency hasten'd to them of the Choicest he had left, all Catholicks, (for that was still insisted upon) under the Command of his Cousin Sir *Edmond Butler*, a Man considerably worthy of a greater Charge, who with some Difficulty past the River, into that Part of the Town which the Rebels could not infest; but he had not been two Hours in the Town, when Captain *Stafford* (who was Governour of the Castle) and whom the Lord Lieutenant would have remov'd from that Charge, as not being equal to it, but plac'd there because he was a Catholick, and had exercis'd that Charge during the time that the Confederates were in Arms against the King) gave up the Place to *Cromwell*, and took Conditions under him, and thereby gave Entrance to him into the Town, where all the Soldiers were cruelly put to the Sword, and *Edmond Butler* himself, endeavouring (when he discover'd the Treachery) to escape, was kill'd before he had been two Hours in the Town.

The Garrison  
basely  
murder'd.

From this Torrent of Success and Corruption no body will wonder that the Rebels march'd then without Controul, and took *Rosse* and some other Places without any Opposition; yet the Marquess out of a deep Sense of the Stupidity

W

Waywardness, and Ingratitude of that People, for whose Protection and Defence he had embark'd himself, his Fortune, and his Honour, and whose Jealousies and fond Obstinacy, made the Work of their Preservation more difficult and impossible than the Powers of the Enemy could do, desir'd nothing so much as an Opportunity to fight the Rebels, and either to give some check to their swollen Fortune, or to perish in the Action; and to that Purpose drew all his Friends to him, and sent for all the Forces he could draw together from the Province of *Munster* and *Ulster*.

From the time the Peace was concluded at *Wexford*, the Lord Lieutenant well discern'd the Mischief he should sustain, by being to provide against the Attempts of *Owen O Neal*, as well as against the *English* Rebels, and that, at least, he could hope for no Assistance from the *Peasants* in *Ulster*, as long as they fear'd him, and therefore he had sent *Daniel O Neal*, Nephew to the General, to perswade him to be concluded the same Peace: But he was so unsatisfy'd with the Assembly, that he declar'd he would have nothing to do with them, or be comprehended in any Agreement they should make: But if the Marquess would consent to some Conditions he propos'd, he would willingly submit to the King's Authority in him. The Marquess was content to grant his own Conditions, having indeed a great Esteem of his Conduct, and knowing the Army under his Command to be better disciplin'd than any other of the *Irish*. But the Commissioners of Trust would by no means consent to these Conditions, and declar'd, that the Lord Lieutenant proceeded thereupon to an Agreement, it would be a direct Breach of the Articles of Peace; and thereupon *Owen*

O Neal made that Conjunction with *Monke* which was before remember'd; and about the very time of the Defeat at *Rathmines*, reliev'd Sir *Charles Cootie* in *Londonderry*, and therefore kept the King from being entirely possess'd of the Province of *Ulster*, which, but for that Action, would have been able to have sent strong Supplies of Men and Provision to the Assistance of the Marquess; and it is enough known, that when the Lord Lieutenant was in a hopeful Way to prevail against the Rebels the Commissioners of Trust, and the principal Person of Interest had no Mind to agree with *Owen O Neal*, out of an Animosity to his Person and Party, and in Confidence that the Work would be done without him, and others of his Party had as little Mind that he should be drawn to a Conjunction with the Marquess, because they knew if they were once engag'd under him they should no more be able to seduce *O Neal* to join with them in any Action of Sedition; and upon these Reasons, the Persons who were deputed by the Commissioners to treat with him and were known to have an Interest in him, on the one Side perswaded *Owen O Neal* that the Lord Lieutenant had broken the Articles of Peace, and he could have no Security that what should be promis'd should be perform'd to him; and on the other Side inform'd the Marquess, That he insist'd on such extravagant Propositions that the Commissioners of Trust would never yield to them: But after the Arrival of *Cromwell*, and his Success against *Drogheda*; the Commissioners of Trust thought a high time to unite with him, and *Owen O Neal* discern'd himself how unsafe he should be by the prevailing of the *English* Rebels, who notwithstanding the signal Service done by him for them

The Lord  
Lieutenant  
treats with  
O Neal.

them had publicly disown'd the Agreement  
 which their own Officers had made with him,  
 and thereupon, by the Interposition of *Daniel O*  
*Neal*, all Particulars were agreed between the  
 Lord Lieutenant and him, with the Consent of  
 the Commissioners of Trust, about the time that  
*Cromwell* was before *Wexford*, insomuch that he  
 promis'd in few Days to bring his Army and  
 join with the Lord Lieutenant, which (though  
 himself liv'd not to execute) was perform'd  
 shortly after; so that about the time that *Wex-*  
*ford* was taken, he was not without Hope by  
 the Advantage of a Pass, and cutting off his  
 provisions, to have made *Cromwell* return to *Dul-*  
*lough*, very hardly without losing a good Part of  
 his Army; when on a sudden all the consider-  
 able Places in *Munster* revolted to the Rebels, *The Town*  
 and thereby gave them a safe Retreat, and free *in Munster*  
 passage, and necessary Provision of all they want- *revolt to*  
 ed, and Harbour for Ships to bring all to them *the Eng-*  
 that they could desire. The Lord *Inchequin* be- *lish Re-*  
 ing so totally betray'd by those Officers whom *be's.*  
 he trusted most, and had most oblig'd, that after  
 he had in vain try'd to reduce them by Force,  
 he could not without much Difficulty obtain the  
 Liberty and Re-delivery of his Wife and Chil-  
 dren to him. This Action in this fatal Juncture  
 of time when the Streights *Cromwell* was in by  
 the Winter and want of Provisions had rais'd the  
 spirits of all Men, and when they look'd upon  
 themselves as like to have at least, some hope-  
 ful Encounter with him, was not a Loss or Blow,  
 but a Dissolution of the whole Frame of their  
 hopes and Designs and introduc'd a Spirit of  
 jealousy and Animosity into the Army, which  
 by the Dexterity or Interest of the Lord Lieutenant  
 could extinguish or allay.

From the first Hour of the Peace, the *English* and *Irish* had not been without that Prejudice each other, as gave the Marquess much Trouble and they were rather incorporated by their Obedience and Submission to the Authority and Pleasure of their supreme Commander, than united by the same Inclination and Affection to any publick End; insomuch, that before the Defection at *Rathmines*, there were many of the *Irish* who much fear'd the swift Success of the Army, and apprehended the Lord Lieutenant's speedy reducing of *Dublin*, would give him such Power, as would make him more absolute than they desir'd to see him, and therefore were not sorry for the Marquess's chief: On the other Side, the *English* were troubled to see the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Marquess so restrain'd and limited by the Articles, and that the Army was never recruited, disciplin'd, nor provided as it ought to be, solely by his Want of Power, and they had a very low Opinion of the Spirit and Courage of the *Irish*. But now upon this Defection in *Munster*, there was a Determination of all Confidence and Trust between each other: The *Irish* declar'd they suspected all the *English* Nation, and made the Treachery of those who so infamously had betray'd their Trust, an unreasonable Argument, for a Jealousy of those which remain'd in the Army, who being a handful of gallant Men, and of most unshaken Fidelity to the King, were indeed in respect of their Courage and Experience in War the Party to be principally depended upon in any Action or Encounter, and of which only the Enemy had had any Apprehension.

Though the Season of the Year, (for it was now towards the end of *November*) and the Sicknes that was in the Rebels Army, made it high time to betake themselves to their Winter

Quarters

Quarters, and such was their Resolution, yet  
 Cromwell being well inform'd of the present Di-  
 temper amongst them who had the whole  
 strength the Lord Lieutenant was to trust to,  
 and knowing that the Clergy had the full Domi-  
 nion of all the incorporate Towns and Places of  
 importance, and would keep the People from  
 submitting to those Expedients, which only would  
 preserve them, he resolv'd to make an Attempt,  
 and so march'd with his Army, consisting of a-  
 bout 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot towards Wex-  
 ford, this was when he encamp'd near Thomas-  
 town, within the Distance of two or three Miles  
 of the Marquess, and with which they have since  
 approach'd him in some printed Discourses, as an  
 Opportunity voluntarily omitted and declin'd,  
 when he might have fought the Rebels upon an  
 Advantage of Ground, and an Equality of Num-  
 bers; whereas the Truth is known to be that  
 notwithstanding the Jealousy and Discomposure  
 of the Humours in his Army, being upon the time  
 of the Defection ) and Inequality in Number  
 and Quality of the Men (for the Rebels had  
 double the Number of Horse, and were supe-  
 rior in Foot) the Marquess had a Resolution to  
 give Battle to them, conceiving that these Dis-  
 advantages and extreme Hazards were reason-  
 ably to be preferr'd to those he foresaw he should  
 be forc'd to undergo without Fighting : But the  
 very Morning before they drew out in Battalia  
 near Thomastown, upon the Information of se-  
 veral Persons who pretended they had seen the  
 enemy march towards Kilkenny, which was with-  
 in the same Distance of the Place where they  
 were encamp'd, as near to that where he was;  
 and the Garrison being drawn out thence, to  
 strengthen the Army for the Encounter then ex-  
 pected; the Marquess march'd with all the Horse  
 with

Cromwell  
 marches  
 towards  
 Wexford,

Why the  
 Marquess  
 did not  
 fight  
 Crom-  
 well's Ar-  
 my.

with as much Speed as might be, to put himself between the Town and the Rebels, and so was absent when they discover'd them to be drawn up on a Hill, and if he had been there, there was a River between them, which (if he would have fought) he must have pass'd by a Bridge where more than three could not have march'd abreast up an Hill; upon the steep Rising whereof, the Rebels had planted themselves in Order of Battel; so that if all other Considerations had been away, he could not ever have thought it reasonable to have engag'd his Army upon so manifest Disadvantage.

Cromwell  
marches to  
besiege  
Water-  
ford.

Lord Lieu-  
tenant for-  
ced to dis-  
band his  
Army, but  
provides  
for the De-  
fecce of  
Water-  
ford.

From hence Cromwell march'd to Waterford knowing well enough the Marquess could not keep the small Body he had together two Days which was very true; for having not Money enough to give them half a Weeks Pay, nor Provision to serve but four and twenty Hours he was compell'd to suffer them to go to their Quarters: However he was resolv'd not to leave Waterford to the Enemy, tho' they had so obstinately and disobediently refus'd to receive the Garrison, which would have prevented their present Pressure; whereas they were now closely besieged to their Walls on all that Side of the Town which lay to Munster, the other being open and to be reliev'd by the River Shure which there severs Leinster from Munster and washes the Walls of the Town on the other Side. The Inhabitants seeing Destruction at their Doors, abated so much of their former Madnes as to be willing to receive a Supply of Soldiers, yet under a Condition, that they might be all of the old *Lish* of Ulster, who under the Command of Owen O Neal had opposed the King's Authority (and were now newly join'd with the Marquess) and in express Terms refus'd

us'd any of their Neighbours and Kindred;  
 the Confederate *Irish* Catholicks of *Munster* and  
*Connaught*, to the great Offence and Scandal of that  
 Party of the Nation, which had been as zealous  
 of their Religion as any. However, since there  
 was no other Way to suppress them, the Lord  
 Lieutenant was content to comply even with  
 their Humour, and so choosing a strong Party of  
 near 1500 Men, and putting them under the Com-  
 mand of Lieutenant General *Farrell*, who was  
 the most acceptable to them, his Excellency  
 himself march'd with them, and put them into  
 the Town, which he had no sooner done, than  
*Cromwell* found it convenient to raise his Siege; *Cromwell*  
 and shortly after betook himself to his Winter- *obliged to*  
 quarters. *raise the*  
*Siege.*

It was the Month of *December*, and a Season,  
 with Frost and Snow, as uneasy as that Time of  
 the Year in that cold Country hath at any Time  
 produced; yet the Marquess having left the  
 Town, as he thought full of the Sense of the  
 Benefit and Preservation which they had re-  
 ceiv'd from him, and desiring to employ himself  
 in fortifying *Waterford*, and providing it better to  
 resist the Enemy, before they should be able  
 to make another Attempt upon it, and likewise  
 in reducing *Rosse* and *Waterford*, and all other  
 places which the Rebels had taken and left  
 weakly mann'd and provided, he drew his  
 forces together, and leaving them on the other  
 side of the *Shure*, himself with a Train only of  
 about 50 Horse, consisting of his Friends and  
 servants, went into the Town, presuming that  
 he should be able to persuade them to submit  
 to whatsoever should manifestly appear  
 for their own Benefit and Advantage; When  
 he came into the Town, he found Lieutenant  
 General *Farrell* engag'd in a Design to take *Design upon*  
*Passage, Passage.*

*Passage*, a Place seiz'd on by *Cromwell*, who he retir'd from *Waterford*, and which was inconvenient Neighbour to that City ; Colonel *Wogan*, who had been seasonably sent by the Marquess into *Duncannon* (the first Governor placed there by the Confederate Catholics being ready to deliver it up to the Rebels ) and who had with notable Courage defended it against *Cromwell*, and in the End, after the loss of a great many of his Men, compell'd him to retire, had agreed to meet Lieutenant General *Farrell* at a Place and House appointed, and together to fall upon *Passage*, though the Marquess had not been inform'd of the Form and Contrivance of the Design, yet he knew well enough what Interpretation would be made of his Interposition or Command, or Waryness should declare against it ; he was therefore very willing it should proceed ; the Matter was well laid and carry'd with Secrecy, being hoped enough ; but Lieutenant General *Farrell* had not been march'd from the Town many Hours when the Marquess discover'd from some Place of Prospect in the Town, a strong Party of Horse marching in good Order, the way that led to *Passage*, which belonging to the Rebels, made him conclude that they had Notice of the Design ; whereupon he presently sent for the Mayor of the Town, and shewing the inevitable Danger their whole Party was in, which was the only Strength against any Enterprize of the Enemy, ( if they were not instantly relieved ) requir'd him presently to send some Body over to the other Side of the River, for the transporting a Regiment or two of his Horse, with which he would endeavour himself to rescue them.

How apparent soever the Danger and chief was, and how visible and natural soever

the Remedy, all the Commands and Enreaties  
 could use, could not prevail to get one  
 body, or their Consent that any of his Horse  
 should be suffer'd to march through the Town,  
 without which they could not go to their Relief.  
 When he had in vain try'd all the Ways to con-  
 vince and perswade them, he caus'd all his Friends  
 and Servants (which, as was said before, amount-  
 ed not to above Forty or Fifty) to mount their  
 horses; and with all imaginable haste led them  
 himself towards *Passage*, that he might at least dis-  
 cover, though he was not like to Prevent the Loss  
 that was like ensue. When he came within Sight  
 of the Town, he could discern a Party of Foot  
 marching with great Haste and Disorder towards him,  
 being pursu'd by the Rebels Horse, who had even  
 overtaken them, having fallen upon the Remainder;  
 and either kill'd them upon the Place, or taken  
 them Prisoners; tho' the Company that attended the  
 Marquess was too few to encounter the Rebels  
 with any considerable Hope, yet he drew up in  
 that Manner on the Side of a Hill, that the Enemy  
 imagining their Numbers to be more considerable,  
 thought fit to lessen their Pace, and to send small  
 parties to discover, which being again entertain'd  
 with the like Number in slight Skirmishes, the  
 Foot as much improving their March, they were  
 in the end by the Marquess's frequent exposing his  
 own Person to retard the Rebels Pursuit, preserv'd,  
 and thus he brought back with him into the Town  
 about half those which had march'd thence, and  
 which had been infallibly destroy'd if he had not  
 taken that desperate Course to redeem them; and  
 he might as surely have recover'd all the others  
 which were made Prisoners, and defeated all that  
 Body of the Rebels; and consequently taken *Pas-*  
*sage*, if the Citizens would have permitted his

*The Mar-*  
*quess re-*  
*lieves*  
*Farrel,*  
*and stops*  
*the Pur-*  
*suit of the*  
*Rebels*  
*with a*  
*very small*  
*Party.*

*Unseasona-*  
*ble Obsti-*  
*nacy of the*  
*Citizens of*  
*Water-*

Horse lord;

Horse to have been transported over the River, and to have march'd through the Place.

*The Lord  
Lieute-  
nant's De-  
signs ob-  
structed by  
the Influ-  
ence of the  
Popish  
Clergy.*

The Marquess was by this last Experiment, sufficiently convinc'd how impossible it would be to persuade the Town ( which was entirely govern'd by the Clergy ) to suffer any part of his Army to enter into it, which in many respects, and especially for finishing their Works and Fortifications, had been necessary on the other Side; without the Countenance of the Town, and bringing his Army over the River, it was as impossible to prosecute his Design for the Reduction of *Passage*, and those Places mention'd before. He desir'd therefore more of them, than that they would be content that his Army might for a little time be huddled under their Walls, where they should receive the Provisions and Pay duly out of the Country, and so should be a security and Benefit to the Town without the least Damage in any Degree: But the Proposition found no more Regard than the Former, and instead of consulting the first Circumstances to comply with so just and necessary a Demand of the King's Lieutenant, it was propos'd in the Council of the Town, to seize on his Person, and to take on all that belong'd to him, as an Enemy; which Advice met with no other Reprehension, than that for the present the major Part did not consent to it. Of all which, when the Marquess was fully inform'd, he thought it time to depart from thence, and leave them to their own Imaginations, and so march'd away with his Army, which after this indignity it was a thing impossible to keep together, all the Troops removing to those Quarters where there were shewn some Means for their Subsistence. himself went to his Castle at *Kilkenny*, from whence he dispatch'd an Account to the King, ( who was then in the Island of *Jersey* ) of the true State

*His Army  
separates.*

his Affairs in that Kingdom, by which his Majesty might see how much his Rebels who disclaim'd any Subjection to him, prevail'd against his Authority, and how it was equally contemn'd, and deduced, and disregarded by his Subjects, who made all the Profession of Obedience and Duty to him, which was a Method those ill times had made his Majesty too well acquainted with, and from this time (which was in the Month of *December*, 1649) the Marquess never did, or could draw together into one Body, a Number of 500; what Endeavours he us'd to do it, we will mention in order hereafter.

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant came to *Kilkenny*, he consulted with the Commissioners of Trust without whose Approbation and Consent he could do no Act that was of Importance) what Remedies to apply to the Disorder and Confusion which spread it self over all their Affairs: They had still been Witnesses of all his Actions, of his unwearied pains and Industry, and of the little Fruit that was reap'd by it; How his Orders and Commands, and their own, had been neglected and disobey'd in those Particulars, without which an Army could not be brought or kept together; How those Places which the Rebels had possess'd themselves of, had been, for the most Part, lost by their own obstinate refusal to receive such Assistance from him, as was absolutely necessary for their Preservation; and yet they had rais'd most unreasonable Imputations and reproaches on him, as if he had fail'd in their Defence and Relief: They had seen the wonderful and insupportable Wants and Necessities the Army had always undergone, and knew very well how all Servants had been disobey'd for the bringing in of Money or Provision for the Supply thereof, and that their Country was full of Clamour and Discontent for the Payment of Taxes, and being ex-

*Lord Lieutenant ex-  
postulates  
with the  
Commissioners of  
Trust.*

haulted with Contributions, he desir'd them therefore to examine where any Misdemeanours had Truth been, that they might be punish'd; and from whence the Scandal and Calumnies proceeded, that the Minds of the People might be inform'd and compos'd. The Commissioners had, for the most part, very diligently and faithfully intended the Service from the Beginning, according to the Trust repos'd in them, yet there were some among them too able and dexterous in Business, who always malign'd the Person of the Marquess, or rather his Religion, and the Authority he represented, and whatsoever Professions they made of Respect to him, still maintain'd a close Intelligence and Correspondence with those of the Clergy, who were the most disaffected to his Majesty's Interest, and who from the Misfortune at *Rathmines*, had underhand fomented and cherish'd all the ill Humours and Jealousies of the People.

*Commissioners Advis'd  
vice to the  
Marquess.*

The Commissioners advis'd the Marquess the best Expedient, to satisfy the Country that Orders might be sent to them to elect some few Persons among themselves, to send to *Kilkenny* Agents to represent those Grievances which were most heavy on them, and to offer any Desire that might promote their Security, alledging that they could by this Means be clearly inform'd how groundless their Jealousies were, and the Artifice would be discover'd which had been us'd to corrupt their Affections; tho' the Marquess well knew how tedious and inconvenient this Course might prove, and rather advance all the Scandalous and seditious Designs, than suppress them; yet he fore-saw as well, that if it were declin'd by him, he should have been unavoidably reproach'd with not being willing to be inform'd of the just Grievances of the People, and consequently not to remedy them, and therefore without giving Countenance to

by such irregular Convention, by any formal Summons of his own, he gave way that the Commissioners should write their Letters; and accordingly the Agents did come thither from several Countries, to communicate and present their Complaints and <sup>Agents from the Countries to represent pretended Grievances.</sup> Deputes together in *January* following, and the Lord Lieutenant receiv'd them with good Countenance, and wish'd them freely to consult together as soon as they could, to present whatever they had to say to him, to which they should be sure to receive a speedy answer.

In the mean time the Bishops and Clergy of themselves, and without any Authority, receiv'd or <sup>Assembly of the Irish Clergy.</sup> Committed from the Lord Lieutenant, assembled at *Clanmalois*, upon the River *Shannon*, upon whose Counsels and Conclusions all Mens Eyes were more fix'd than upon what the Agents should represent. At *Kilkenny*, it being very evident, that notwithstanding all the whole Catholick Nobility of the Kingdom, and all the principal Persons of Quality and Interest heartily concurr'd with the Marquess, and the Commissioners of Trust, for the most Part, were as jealous for the Execution and Observation of the Articles of Peace, and that the same might be render'd useful to the Nation; yet the Clergy and Religious Persons had found Means to obstruct that Union, which was necessary for the carrying on of the Work, and especially had that pernicious Influence upon the corporate Towns, that no Garison should be receiv'd there, or such Submission made to the Lord Lieutenant or the Council's Orders as was essential to their own Defence, and to the making War against the Rebels; so that all Men were in Suspense what would be the Issue of that Meeting; and it cannot be deny'd, but that the Bishops and that Part of the Clergy which were best affected, and knew the Ways that were most conducing to the Happiness of their Country, prevail'd

prevail'd so far, that the Conclusions which were made, were full of Respect to the King's Service and full of wholesome Advice and Counsel to the People; They declar'd *How vain a thing it was to imagine that there could be any Security for the Exercise of their Religion, for the Enjoyment of their Fortunes, or for the Preservation of their Lives, by any Treaty with, or Promise from the English Rebels; That they abhorr'd all Factions, animosities, and Divisions which rag'd among themselves, to the Hindrance of the publick Service, and therefore enjoyn'd all the Clergy, of what Quality soever, and Ecclesiastical Persons, by Preaching and all other Means, to incline the People to a Union of Affection, and to the laying aside all Jealousies each other, and unanimously to concur in opposing their common Enemy, and appointing the Bishops and other Persons to proceed with great Severity against those Religious and Spiritual Persons, who should underhand cherish and foment those Jealousies and Divisions:* In a Word, they said so much and so well, that when the Lord Lieutenant was inform'd of it, and saw the Extract of their Determination, he conceiv'd some Hope that it might indeed make some good Impression on the People, and produce very good Effect.

*Complaints of Grievances found to be groundless.*

The Agents from the Country spent some time at Kilkenny, in preparing Heads of such Grievances as they thought fit to present to the Lord Lieutenant, who call'd still upon them to dispatch: But upon Conference with the gravest of the Commissioners, they found how groundless all those Slanders were, which they believ'd before they came thither, and so could not agree on any Particular to complain of; besides, they met with some Disturbance there; Cromwell knowing how the small Forces were scatter'd abroad, march'd with a strong Party towards the Town, with which the Agents

ents were so alarm'd, that they would no longer  
 stay there, but desir'd the Marquess to let them  
 journ to *Ennis*, in the County of *Clare*, which  
 they did, and though they met there, yet they ne-  
 ver agreed on any Draught of any Grievances to be  
 presented, though they made that ill use of their  
 meeting to propogate the Scandals and Imputa-  
 tions groundlessly rais'd, and to inflame the People  
 with the same Untruths. Notwithstanding this Al-  
 arm and Danger the Lord Lieutenant's Person and  
 Town was in, all the Power and Authority he  
 could not in Ten Days draw Five Hundred  
 Men together to resist the Enemy; however, the  
 Town's-Men appear'd so ready and prepar'd for  
 their Defence, and the Marquess putting all his own  
 Friends and Servants on Horseback, with which he  
 made a Troop of about an Hundred, look'd with  
 good a Countenance upon the Enemy, that he  
 retir'd, and shortly after the Lord Lieutenant re-  
 ceiv'd the Charge of the Place and the Country ad-  
 jacent to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and went him-  
 self upon a more important Business to *Lymerick*.  
 Though the Rebels (by the Faction and Obsti-  
 nacy of the People, who could not hitherto be in-  
 duc'd to make reasonable Provision for Defence)  
 prevail'd very far, and possess'd themselves of  
 very good Places without any considerable Opposi-  
 tion, yet there remain'd a good Part of the King-  
 dom free from their Power; the whole Province  
 of *Connaught* was still entire, and the Cities of *Ly-  
 merick* and *Gallway* in Possession of the Catholics,  
 which might be made so strong, as not to fear any  
 strength the Rebels would bring before them, and  
 so situated for all Advantages of the Sea, that  
 they might (being well supply'd) maintain a War  
 against the whole Kingdom; there were Men en-  
 ough, only wanted Order and Resolution to pre-  
 serve themselves. The Marquess resolv'd to be-  
 gin

The Lord  
 Lieutenant  
 with an  
 inconsider-  
 able Force,  
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 to draw off  
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 kenny.

The Pro-  
 gress of the  
 English  
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 to the  
 Divisions  
 among the  
 Irish.

*Lord Lieutenant endeavours to preserve Lymerick.* gin with *Lymerick*, and if he could dispose the City to a full Obedience, and to receive a Garrison he made no Question, not only to fortify it against any Attempt of the Enemy, but under the Countenance of it, and by the Security of the River *Shannon*, to Quarter his Troops, raise Contributions for their Support, discipline his Men, and in effect by the Spring to recruit his Army, that he might give Battle to the Rebels where-ever he should engage: And to this Purpose he went himself thither from *Kilkenny*, in the Month of *January*, hoping that the good Resolution of the Bishops *Clanmacnois* had well prepar'd the people to comply with him. But when he came thither, although he was receiv'd with outward Demonstrations of Respect, he found their Temper not such as he desir'd, whatsoever the Bishops had declar'd; the Clergy had observ'd none of those Directions, nor were any in so much Credit, as they who had hav'd themselves quite contrary to those Determinations; and if no way could be found out to allay the Spirit, all his Endeavours, he saw, would be without any Fruit; whereupon he resolv'd to try whether that Part of the Clergy which wish'd well to the Kingdom, could use as efficacious Means to preserve it as the others, who desir'd Confusion, did to destroy it: And upon Advice with the principal Persons of the Catholick Nobility, and with the Commissioners of Trust, he did, about the end of *January*, by Letters, desire as many of the Catholick Bishops as were within any convenient Distance, to meet him at *Lymerick*, which they accordingly did.

*Conference with the Commissioners of Trust.* When they came thither, he confert'd with them in the Presence of the Commissioners of Trust, with all Frankness, upon the distracted and disjointed State of Affairs, and freely told them, That *but the People might be brought to have a full Com-*

ence in him, and yield perfect Obedience to him, and without the City of Limerick might be persuaded to receive a Garrison, and obey his Orders, it was not to be hop'd that he could do any thing against the Rebels : He desir'd them therefore, if they had a Mistrust of him, or a Dislike of his Government, that they would as clearly let him know it, assuring them, that such was his Desire of the Peoples Preservation, that there was nothing in his Power consistent with his Duty to the King, and agreeable with his Honour, that he would not do their Desire for that End, letting them see withal, that his Continuance with the Name, and not with the Power of Lord Lieutenant could bring nothing but Ruin upon the Nation, as well as Dishonour upon him ; so that he propounded unto them in plain Terms, either that they would procure a due Obedience to be yielded unto him, or propose some other Way, by his quitting the Kingdom, how it might be preserv'd.

After Consultation together, they returned with many Expressions of Respect and Affection to his Person, and faithfully promis'd to endeavour all that Obedience he desir'd, withal presenting him with a Paper of Advice, which contain'd (as they said) certain Remedies for removing the Discontents and Disgusts of the People, and for the advancing his Majesty's Service amongst which they propos'd, That a Privy Council might be framed by the Peers and others the Natives of the Kingdom, as well spiritual as Temporal, to sit daily with him, and determine all the weighty Affairs of the Country by their Council, and many other Particulars concerning the raising of Men, and conducting the War ; to every one of which the Marquess gave them an Answer in Writing ; amongst which he told them. That he could not understand how the present Distresses of the Kingdom could proceed from want

of a Privy Council, or how the framing of such a Council could advantage the Management of the War, which by the Articles of Peace was to be done by the Commissioners of Truſt, with whom he did always communicate Matters of Importance and therefore, he could not think fit unnecessarily to preſume upon doing a Thing for which he had neither Power nor Precedent, the Nomination of all Perſons to be of the Privy Council, being always reſerv'd by the King to himſelf; yet rather than he ſhould be wanting in any thing that was in his Power to ſatisfy the People, he wiſh'd that the particular Acts which the Privy Council had heretofore done, and were now neceſſary to be done might be inſtanced and ſo far forth as, ſhould appear neceſſary and fit, he would qualify Perſons free from juſt Exceptions with ſuch; and ſo answered all their Propoſitions, that they ſeem'd to be very well ſatisfy'd therewith, and thereupon publiſh'd a Declaration, in which they profeſs'd, That they did and would endeavour to root out of Men's Hearts all Jealouſies and ſeniſter Opinions, conceiv'd either againſt his Execution, or the preſent Government, and they entreated him to give them further Inſtructions, declaring, That they were not deterred by the Want of the expected Succeſs in the Affairs of the Kingdom, but rather animated to give further Onſets, and to try all other poſſible Ways, and did faithfully promiſe, that no Industry or Care ſhould be wanting in them to receive and execute his Directions.

When the Marqueſs propos'd to the Commissioners of Truſt, that Lymeric and other Places might be garriſon'd, he offered them the Names of three Perſons of the Roman Catholick Religion and of eminent Quality, Reputation, and Fortunes, that out of them they might chooſe one for the Command of Lymeric, but reſolving after

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Interſt,

to call this Assembly of the Bishops thither, and to be there himself in Person, he deferr'd the Proceeding in it further till then, that with their own Advice such a Person might be chosen for that important Charge, that should be beyond any Possibility of a just Exception from that Corporation; now he took all the imaginary Pains, and descended to all the Arts of Persuasion, to satisfy those Citizens, who he perceiv'd were the most leading Men, of the Necessity of their speedy receiving a Governour, and a Garrison, for the Preservation of their Interest, and whatsoever would be of Value with any People: But he was so far from prevailing with them, that they perform'd not those outwards Civilities and Respects to him, which had been in no other Place deny'd. The Officers who commanded the City Guards, neither came to him for Orders, nor imparted them to him. No Officer of the Army, or other Person, could without special Leave of the Mayor (which was often very hardly obtain'd) be admitted to come to his Presence, to receive his Commands, and Directions for the resisting and opposing the Rebels, who at that Time prevail'd in the very County of *Limerick* itself; and to publish the Contempt they had of the King's Authority, they committed to Prison the Viscount *Killmallock*, a Catholick Peer of the Realm, and an Officer of the Army, (the Lord Lieutenant himself being upon the Place) for no other Reason than for quartering one Night some few Horsemen under his Command, by the Marquess's own Orders, within the Liberty of the City.

All this being done so contrary to the Injunctions which the Bishops had publish'd for the Direction of the People, and at a Time when they were assembled there, and when he despaired of persuading them to what so properly concern'd their own Interest, the Marquess thought it would not be

*Ingratitude of the Irish to the Lord Lieutenant,*

agreeable to the Honour of his Master, to remain any longer in the Place, where such Affronts and Contempts were put upon his Authority; and yet being willing still to expect some good Effects from the Observation and Discretion of the Bishops, who could not but discern what Ruin must immediately attend such Licence and Disobedience, he appointed all the said Bishops, and as many more as would be perswaded to come thither, and the Commissioners, to meet him at Loghbreah.

Represent-  
ation of  
the Lord  
Lieute-  
nant to the  
Irish

When they appear'd at Loghbreah, the Marquis represented to their Memories, *what they before had been Witnesses of, and observed at Limerick the Neglects he had born there, and desir'd them to remove these causeless Distrusts, which (being maliciously infus'd into the Peoples Minds) did slacken, if not wholly withdraw their Obedience from his Majesty's Authority; wished them to consider how impossible it was for him with Honour or any hope of Success, to contend against a powerful, absolutely obey'd, and plaintfully supply'd Enemy; himself being under such domestick Disadvantages, Distrusts, and Disobedience; and concluded that if the Consequence of the Service could not induce them to be all of one Mind, in putting Garrison into Limerick, or if (being of one Mind) they could not induce the City to Obedience and Submission to their Determination, he could no longer entertain a Hope of giving any Check to the Enemy, and would thereupon consider how otherways to dispose of himself.*

Both the Bishops and the Commissioners were really (or at least seem'd) so entirely convinc'd of the Necessity of erecting that Garrison, and putting that City into a better Posture of Defence than at that time it appear'd to be in, that the Commissioners in whom that Trust was repos'd by the Articles of Peace, order'd it to be done, and sent two

of their Members, with their Order, to *Lymerick*, and with a Letter to the Mayor to conform thereunto, and the Bishops wrote to the Arch-bishop of *Cashel* and the Bishop of *Lymerick*, desiring them *To use their utmost Endeavours to incline the City to submit to the Direction of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Commissioners of Trust*; and having done this they departed to those Places they thought fit, to dispose all the People (as they profess'd) to all Acts of Conformity and Obedience: But the Commissioners in a short time return'd from *Lymerick*, without having in any Degree prevail'd with them to receive either a Governour or Garrison, or to conform themselves to any Orders that the Lord Lieutenant or the Commissioners should send to them, otherways than agreed with their own Inclinations; instead of making Choice of any of those Three who were nominated to them for their Governour, all of the *Roman Catholick Religion*, of very considerable Interests in the Kingdom, and of great Reputation, (upon the Matter) declar'd That they would keep the Power in their own Hands; and for receiving of a Garrison, they propos'd some Particulars, what Men of the *Irish Catholicks*, and what they would not, what Course should be taken for the Support of them, and through whose Hands it should pass, and many other things directly contrary to the Articles of Peace which had been with Solemnity Proclaim'd in the City, and unto which they had profess'd all Submission.

All this Perverseness, Obstinacy, and Ingratitude could not yet extinguish the Affection and Compassion which the Marquess had towards them, and he clearly discern'd that it proceeded not from the Spirit that was included and confin'd within those Walls, but that it was the same that was working generally in other Places, he was well enough satisfy'd that they

*Fatal Jealousies of the Irish.*

*Lord Lieutenant perceives in his Loyal Endeavours.*

they that were most passionately possess'd with it, had not Correspondence with the *English* Rebels, nor had a Mind to be subjected to their Power; he was willing therefore to believe that they had fancy'd and imagin'd some Expedient to themselves for their own Preservation, which could not fall within his Comprehension, and that they might have contracted some Prejudice to his Person, or to his Religion, which might keep them from such an Union and Confidence as they might be reduc'd unto under some Catholick, who might be as zealous to preserve his Majesty's Interest and to recover the Kingdom to his Obedience; and he was the more confirm'd in this Apprehension, by reviewing the several Passages which happen'd at his being at *Lymerrick*, during the time that they seem'd to pay him much Respect; the Lord *Inchequin* had been then with him, towards whom they had observ'd that the Marquess had a great Confidence and Friendship, (as he well deserv'd) and some principal Persons of the City with them: Some of the Bishops had, under great Confidence and Trust, (in Shew) repar'd to the Lord Lieutenant, and declar'd unto him, that all the Indisposition and Waywardness in the People, proceeded from a Prejudice they had against the Lord *Inchequin*, who had always, they said, prosecuted the War against them with the most Rigour and Animosity, and the Places and Persons that he had most of his Devotion, having treacherously revolted to the Rebels, the People were not confident of him, and jealous that he had too great a Confidence in the Marquess; so that if he would dismiss that Lord, and discharge the Troops that yet remain'd under his Command (and of which some frequently ran away to the Rebels) not only the City, but the whole Nation would, as one Man, be at his Disposal.

*Polish Policy of the Irish.*

Whilst these Insinuations were thus practis'd to the Lord Lieutenant, other Persons (and those as leading Men with an equal Number of Bishops) apply'd themselves

ves to the Lord Inchequin, and told him, That while  
 the Affairs were conducted by the Marquess of Or-  
 mond, they expected no good Fortune; That they  
 look'd upon him as not of their Nation, and one so  
 solicitous for the English Interest, and for all Eng-  
 lish Men, that he nothing regarded of theirs;  
 That his Lordship was of the most ancient Ex-  
 traction of Ireland, and under that Notion, look'd  
 upon with great Affection and Reverence by the  
 Irish, and if the Government and Command were  
 exercis'd by him, there would be such an Obedi-  
 ence paid to him, that he could in a short time grow  
 strong enough to oppose the Enemy and recover his Coun-  
 try. When these two Lords had communicated each to  
 other (as they quickly did) the excellent Address  
 that had been made to them, and agreed together  
 how to draw on and encourage those Proposers,  
 that they might discover as much of their Purposes  
 as was possible, they easily found their Design was  
 to be rid of them both, but proceeded with those  
 respects which are mention'd before.  
 The Marquess having sadly consider'd all this, and  
 that nothing might remain unattempted by him, that  
 he could possibly imagine might tend in any Degree  
 to the Recovery or Preservation of the Kingdom, he  
 appointed two Meetings to be at Loughrea, and sum-  
 mon'd thither all the Catholick Bishops, as many of  
 the Nobility as could with any Security come thither,  
 the chief Gentlemen of Quality in the Parts adjacent,  
 and several Officers of the Army, which being met  
 together, he gave them, in the first place, an Answer  
 Writing to the Grievances which had been presen-  
 ted to him at the former Meeting, in which he made  
 evident, How much they were mistaken in much Lord Lieu-  
 the Matters of Fact, and that what was really tenant's  
 miss proceeded from themselves, and their not ob- Answer to  
 serving the Orders and Rules they were bound by. the Irish  
 and could not be prevented by him, who consented Grievan-  
 ces.

to all the good and practicable Ways propos'd by themselves for remedying the like for the future. He remember'd them of the Pains he had taken, of the Propositions he had made, of the Orders he had given, and of the Neglects, Disobedience, and Affronts he had receiv'd, by which alone the Rebels had made that Progress in their Success: He shew'd them a Letter he had lately receiv'd from his Master the King, bearing Date the Second of February, from Jersey, in answer to one he had Written to his Majesty in December, to give him an Account of the State of the Kingdom, and Consequence of the City of Waterford (then newly) to him, which is set down at large before; upon Perusal whereof his Majesty had in his Letter signified his Pleasure to him, That in Case of the Continuance of that Disobedience in the People, and Contempt of his Authority, his Lieutenant should withdraw himself and his Majesty's Authority out of that Kingdom: He told them, that having receiv'd so little Effect of all the Pains he had taken, and so ill Returns for all the Affection he had shew'd them, he resolv'd to make use speedily of the Liberty the King had given him, as to his own person, which he found was render'd so unacceptable to the People, yet if they could propose to him any Way how he might deposit the King's Authority, in such a Manner as it might not be expos'd to the same Affronts it had receiv'd from him, and might be apply'd to the Preserving of the People, and the Recovering of the Kingdom, he would gladly ratify them, and would heartily wish that they might receive that Happiness by his Presence, which they could not have by his Absence, and to that Purpose desir'd them to consult seriously and maturely among themselves.

He resolves  
to leave  
Ireland.

Upon this, all the Bishops, Nobility, and Com-  
missioners

sioners of Trust, with the principal Gentlemen, *The Irish*  
 press'd very much Trouble at the Resolution *concern'd*  
 the Marquess had taken, and on the last Day of *at this Res-*  
 April, in the Year 1650, made an Address to him *olution,*  
 Writing, under their several Hands, in which *Address*  
 among other things ) they told him, That they *the Lord*  
 perceiv'd themselves in Duty bound, for his better *Lieutenant*  
 information of the Inclination of the Nation, hum-  
 bly to present to him, that however his Excellen-  
 cy might not have met a ready Concurrence to  
 some Proposals made for the Advancement of his  
 Majesty's Service; occasion'd by some mistaken Un-  
 derstanding in some few Persons and Places, yet  
 the Country generally, and the Nation in it, as  
 they had already, by the expending their Sub-  
 stance in an extraordinary Measure, and their  
 services upon all Occasions, abundantly testify'd their  
 sincere and immoveable Affections to preserve his  
 Majesty's Rights and Interest entire to him, so  
 they would for the future, with like Chearfulness,  
 endeavour to overcome all Difficulties which the En-  
 emies Power and Success had laid in their Way,  
 and that they who were (and they doubt'd not but  
 the same was the general Sense of the whole Na-  
 tion) would, with all Care and Earnestness, endea-  
 vour, not only to conserve in the People such their  
 good Inclination, but if any Person or Places  
 should be refractory, or decline that Obedience  
 which is due to his Majesty's Authority, they  
 would contribute their best Endeavours to reduce  
 them, and to make them conformable unto the  
 same; and after many other specious Professions and  
 protestations of their Zeal to obey his Excellency,  
 they humbly besought him, To appoint Commanders  
 in the several Provinces, to whom those of his Ma-  
 jesty's Subjects ( who by the Excitements of the Cler-  
 gy were ready with all Affection to undergo that Care,  
 should be encourag'd to take up Arms ) might repair for  
 the Opposing of the Power of the Rebels. N How

How respective soever this Address was, and how solemnly soever it was presented the Lord Lieutenant was resolv'd not to be long satisfy'd with those general Declarations of their good Designs and Purposes, and therefore the very next Day he sent them a Letter containing what he would expect from them, which for the more clear manifestation of the whole Proceedings, shall be here faithfully inserted; as was in these Words.

*The Lord  
Lieute-  
nant's Let-  
ter to the  
Assembly  
at Lough-  
rea,.*

AFTER our hearty Commendati-  
ons, in answer to your Letter of  
the last of *April*, we think fit to put you in  
Mind, that upon communicating to you his  
Majesty's Letter of the second of *February*,  
We then acquainted you at large with what  
had pass'd at *Waterford*, which being by us  
represented to his Majesty, occasion'd the  
sending the said Letter; as also that we found  
the City of *Lymerick* had taken example there-  
by, to affront and contemn his Majesty's Au-  
thority in us, and from us, by the Consent  
of the Representative of the Confederate Ca-  
tholicks, at the Conclusion of the Peace, de-  
rived to the Commissioners; both which you  
pass over with an Extenuation of those Dis-  
obediences and (by attributing them to some  
Misunderstanding) you seem, in a manner, to  
excuse them; whereas we had reason to  
expect that (suitable to your general Profes-  
sions) you would have resent'd the particular  
Department of those Places, and propos'd  
to us how the Contrivers thereof might be  
brought to Justice, and reduc'd to perfect O-  
bedience: For as your Profession and ear-  
nest Endeavours, not only to conserve in  
the People the good Inclinations you find  
in them, but if any Person or Place should

“ be

" be refractory, or decline that perfect Obedience due to his Majesty's Authority, you will contribute your best Endeavours to reduce them, and make them conformable to the same, cannot be evidenc'd or made good by you, but by applying those Endeavours where we give you undeniable Instances of Refractoriness and Disobedience; so there can be no Instance of it more pregnant, or (if it be persisted in) more destructive to his Majesty and the Nation than that of *Lymerick* to the immediate reducing whereof.

" We therefore thought, and do now expect, you would effectually apply your selves; we are well satisfy'd the Generality of the Country and Nation, who have given the Proofs you mention of their meer Affection to preserve his Majesty's Rights entire to him, will persevere therein, if those upon whose Examples and Advice they very much guide their Resolutions, be active and industrious to lead and exhort them thereunto; but we must withal let you know, that we cannot hope that those good Affections and Alacrities, in Defence of his Majesty's and your own Interest, can be successful, in the City of *Lymerick*, if all other Cities and Towns, be not in perfect Obedience, and immediately put under a military Government, for military Matters, and thereby into a Condition of Defence and Offence, which to conceal from the People, were toward them as great a Treachery, as it would be in us a vain Rashness (without a just Obedience first gain'd) to attempt opposing the Strength and Power of the Rebels: And therefore we must and do declare, that as the Refractories of the City of *Waterford* hath, more than any

" human Means, contributed to all the Success  
 " of the Rebels in these Parts, since our being  
 " *Waterford*, and as the Want of a strong Garrison  
 " in *Lymerick*, ( which we long since desir'd might  
 " be put there, but we could not prevail ) have  
 " been the greatest visible Means whereby the said  
 " Rebels have with small or no Assistance gain'd  
 " or destroy'd the County of *Lymerick* and other  
 " Parts adjacent, so the entire loss of the Kingdom  
 " to his Majesty, and the Destruction of the Nation  
 " ( which we have no hope to prevent, but by suffi-  
 " ciently and strongly garrisoning and fortifying the  
 " said City ) must be imputed to that City if it has  
 " persist therein, and so whosoever encourages and  
 " connives with them therein, as to the Distrust and  
 " Jealousies of the People, occasion'd ( as you say )  
 " for want of Success in Service, the Sense of their  
 " Sufferings, whether from the Enemy or otherwise  
 " cannot so reasonably be imputed to any human  
 " Cause, as to the want of garrisoning the Army  
 " in the principal Towns and Cities, wherein we  
 " cannot yet prevail, nor ever could, till by the  
 " Enemies lying at one End of the Town, we  
 " were ( not without articling and conditioning  
 " to put such Men as we could then get, in at an  
 " other End ) ; for by the want of garrisoning the  
 " Army, and by being forc'd to quarter it at large  
 " it was not possible to have them exercis'd, which  
 " ( when they were brought together ) render'd  
 " them worse than so many new rais'd Men, by  
 " how much they had contracted a licentious Li-  
 " berty, and an habit of Rapine and Disobedi-  
 " ence ; nor could we prevent Fraud in Muster-  
 " or reasonably exact a strict Account from the  
 " Officers, of Men so scatter'd, who when they  
 " should be employ'd upon Service, were forc'd  
 " or pretended a Necessity ( wherein we could not

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disprove them) to range the Country to get in Means that should enable them to serve.

“ Also their apprehension for want of Redress of their Grievances ; we understand not what Grievances was there meant, unless those deliver’d to us by the Arch-bishop of *Tuam*, on the first Day of *April*; for the other Grievances, though we long expected and desir’d them, We never saw any, save a Paper given to us on the 12th of *March* at *Limerick*, which for the Forgery and Calumnies, and other misbecoming Passages contain’d in it, was, as such, disown’d by the Clergy then met : And those given us on the first of *April*, we return you here with such Answer, as ( considering the Generality of them ) is possible for us to give.

“ We have already, with the Advice of the Commissioners and others. ( we believe ) with the Approbation of such of the Bishops as were present, appointed the Earl of *Casthaven* to command the Forces in *Leinster* and in *Munster* : With the like Advice and Approbation, We have employ’d Col. *David Roche* to command, for a necessary Expedition ; besides, there is always on the Place there, a general Officer that will readily receive and employ any that shall be prevail’d with to take Arms, as is promis’d ; and in case we find a fit Obedience and Reception from the City of *Limerick*, We shall be ready in Person to receive and conduct such Forces in the said Province.

“ In *Ulster*, in Pursuance of an Agreement made with that Province, We give our Commission to the Arch-bishop of *Clogher*, and in *Connaght*, the Lord Marquess of *Clanrickard* commands the Army : We know no use, to  
“ which

" which any Money rais'd upon the People  
 " hath been employ'd, but to the Maintenance  
 " of the Forces; if you do, we shall be glad  
 " to be therein inform'd, to the End that a  
 " pass Misapplication thereof may be examin'd  
 " and punish'd, and the like prevented for the  
 " future.

" To conclude, we seriously recommend  
 " your Consideration, the procuring such Obse-  
 " dience to his Majesty's Authority in general  
 " and in particular from the City of Limerick  
 " as may enable and encourage us with Honour  
 " and Success, according to our Desire  
 " to use our utmost Industry, and to encounter  
 " all Hazard for the Defence of the Kingdom  
 " and the Nation, against the Tyranny that  
 " will certainly be exercis'd upon them, and  
 " the insupportable Slavery they will be subject  
 " to if the Rebels prevail; and so we bid you  
 " heartily farewell.

Your very Loving Friend.

ORMOND

From Loughrea, the

1st of May, 1650.

Endors'd for the Arch bishop, Nobility  
 Bishops, and Commissioners authorized  
 by Us, in pursuance of the Articles of  
 Peace, and others assembled at Lough-  
 reah.

Address on  
 the said  
 Letter.

Upon receipt of this Letter they made another  
 Address to the Marquess in Writing, in which  
 they said, " They were very far from intend-  
 " ing, by any Expression they had us'd, to ex-  
 " cuse that Deportment of the City of Limerick  
 " nor could any Man (they said) more feel-  
 " ingly than they, resent the personal Disre-  
 " spect towards his Excellency while he was  
 " lately in that City, whereof they had in their  
 " Letter

Letters, then ready to be sent by a Committee employ'd by them to that Corporation, taken Notice, and they did hope that by their Deportment they would merit to have it understood, that it proceeded from Ignorance rather than Malice, and that concerning the garrifoning of the City, the Clergy (that had met lately there) and the Commissioners of Trust, had written very effectually to them, and employ'd two of the Commissioners of Trust thither, to solicit their Compliance to his Excellency, and to represent to them the Danger and Prejudice that would ensue their Refractoriness; and though it had not taken that Effect with them which was expected, yet they humbly offer'd his Excellency, that a second Essay was to be made, and his Excellency's farther Commands to be sent thither, whereunto, if they should not listen, they promis'd, as much as in them lay, that they would in their respective Degrees and Quality, according to their respective Powers, so far as should be thought fit and necessary upon Consideration had, of what had been proposed hitherto between his Excellency and the Commissioners of Trust and them, concerning the garrifoning of that City corporate, to reclaim them, and bring them to perfect Obedience; humbly desiring, that what Resolution soever should be taken by that City, yet that his Excellency would be pleased, not to impute it to any Disaffection in them, or want of Zeal in the Nation to advance his Majesty's Service; and in regard, the transacting of that Business might take up some time, *it was humbly desir'd*, that his Excellency would be pleased to use his immediate Care, for forwarding of the Service, and settling of Affairs in other

“ Parts

“ Parts of the Kingdom, answerable to the present  
 “ sent Danger and Condition, wherein it was  
 “ that there might be some visible Opposition to  
 “ the growing Power of the Enemy. At the  
 same time that they sent this Address to the Mar-  
 quess, signed by the Name of the Bishops and Com-  
 missioners, (which was in the beginning of May  
 1650.) they likewise sent the Arch-bishop of  
*Tuam*, and Sir *Lucas Dillon*, to *Lymerick*, with a  
 reasonable and pressing Letters to that Corpora-  
 tion for receiving a Garrison.

*The Mar-  
 quess alters his  
 Resolution  
 of leaving  
 Ireland.*

This demeanour in the Assembly, and all the  
 visible results of their Consultation, together with  
 the deep Expressions of Loyalty to the King, and  
 of Respect to his Lieutenant, prevailed so far  
 with the Marquess, that he again declined his pur-  
 pose of quitting the Kingdom; and thereupon he  
 dismissed a Frigate that he had bought, and fitted for  
 his own Transportation: And though the Arch-  
 bishop of *Tuam*, and Sir *Lucas Dillon* returned from  
*Lymerick*, without that entire Submission from the  
 City that was expected, yet he was willing to make  
 the best Interpretation of their great Profession of  
 Duty, and to believe, that they would by Degrees  
 be induced to do what they ought, and that he  
 might be the nearer them to encourage any such In-  
 clination, he removed to *Clare* twelve Miles from  
*Lymerick*, and gave order to the Troops, which  
 for conveniency of Quarters were scattered at a  
 greater Distance, to be ready to draw to a Rendez-  
 vous, and was shortly after (very reasonably) in-  
 duced to be almost confident, that the City was well  
 disposed; for having one Day (about the 11th of  
*June*) visited some Troops which he had assem-  
 bled within four Miles of *Lymerick*, and returning at  
 Night to *Clare*; the next Day two Aldermen of the  
 City came to him with this following Letter, from  
 the Mayor of that Corporation.

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*Lymerick*,  
*June*, 16

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 rke, and

May it please your Excellency,

THE Council having given me Com-  
 "mand to signifie, and humbly offer <sup>Letter from the</sup>  
 to your Excellency, that it was expected by <sup>Mayor of</sup>  
 them, that you would (being so near the Ci- <sup>Lymerick</sup>  
 ty Yesterday) bestow a visit on it; which is <sup>to the Lord</sup>  
 no way doubted had been done, if your greater <sup>Lieutenant</sup>  
 Affairs had not hindered you; and they do  
 yet expect, when those are over, your Excel-  
 lency will be pleased to step hither to settle  
 that Garrison here, which without your Pre-  
 sence cannot (as is humbly conceived) be so  
 well done, or with that Expedition our Necessities  
 require, the Particulars, whereof we refer to  
 the bearers, Alderman *Peirce Creagh* and Alder-  
 man *John Bourke*, their Relation, to whom we  
 desire Credence may be given by your Ex-  
 cellency, and to believe, that I will never fail  
 to be,

Lymerick, 12th  
 June, 1650.

Your Excellency's

Humble Servant.

*John Creagh* Mayor of *Lymerick*.

This Letter might very well have raised an  
 expectation and Assurance, that there should be no  
 scruple of receiving a Garrison, yet the Al-  
 dermen that brought it, made such Pause in an-  
 swering some necessary Questions, that the Mar-  
 shals returned them the same Night with this  
 answer.

After our hearty Commendations, "We  
 "read your Letter of this Days date, by <sup>Lord Lieu-</sup>  
 Conveyance of Alderman *Peirce Creagh* and *John* <sup>tenant's</sup>  
<sup>Answer.</sup>  
*Bourke*, and heard what *John Bourke*, and the other  
 had

“ had to say from that Corporation ; in Answer  
 “ whereunto, we imparted some Particulars unto  
 “ them : Wherein we expected Satisfaction, which  
 “ if you send us to the Rendezvous to Morrow  
 “ (where we intend to be) We shall visit the  
 “ City, and imploy our best endeavours in settling  
 “ tling the Garrison necessarily desired there  
 “ both for the Defence and Satisfaction of the  
 “ City ; and so we bid you heartily Farewell,

Clare 12th

June 1650.

Your Loving Friend,

Lord Lieuten-  
 tenant's  
 Proposals.

The Particulars he proposed to them, were  
 To be received in the same Manner, and with  
 such Respect, as the Lord Lieutenant heretofore  
 had always been. 2dly, To have Command of the  
 Guard, giving the Word and Orders in the City  
 3dly, That there might be Quarters provided  
 within the City, for such Horse and Foot, as  
 should carry in, which should be part of the Gar-  
 rison ; and whereof a List should be given at the  
 Rendezvous, the next Day.

When the Marquess came to the Rendezvous  
 two Aldermen met him there, and informed him  
 that the City had consented to all that he had  
 proposed to them (except only the admittance of  
 his Guards, which they were unwilling to  
 do) whereupon he sent Messengers back with  
 this Answer, That he intended not the drawing  
 of the Guards, out of any mistrust he had in  
 the Loyalty of the Magistrates of the City to his  
 Majesty, or of their Affection to himself: but  
 Dignity of the Place he held, and to prevent  
 popular Tumult, that might be raised by desperate  
 uninterested Persons against him, or the civil Govern-  
 ment of the City, whereunto he had cause to fear

loose People might by false and frivolous Suggestions be easily instigated; and to take away all possibility of Suspicion from the most Jealous; he told them, The Guard he meant to take with him, should consist but of an hundred Foot and fifty Horse, and even those to be intirely of their own Religion, and such as having been constantly of the Confederacy, were interested in all the Benefits of the Articles of the Peace: And so not imagining that they could refuse so reasonable an Overture, he went towards the City; but when he came very near the Gates, the same Aldermen came again to him, to let him know, that there was a Tumult raised in the City by a Franciscan Fryar, called Father Wolf, and some others, against his coming into the Town, and in Opposition to the Desires and Intentions of the Mayor and principal Citizens; and therefore they dissuaded his going thither, until the Tumult should be quieted, so that the Lord Lieutenant was compelled with that Affront to return, and rested that Night at Shanbally three Miles from the City; from whence he wrote to them the Sense he had of the Indignity offered to him, and wished them to consider not only by what Power they had been made a Corporation first, and by whose Protection they had since flourished, but also what solid Foundation of Safety (other than by receiving the Defence he had offered them) was, or could be proposed to them by the present Disturbers of their Quiet, and desired their present Answer, that in Case he might be encouraged to proceed in the Way he had laid down offering the King, and preserving the City from the Tyranny of the Rebels, he might immediately apply himself thereunto, or failing in his desires therein, he might employ himself, and the Forces he had gathered for that Purpose, to some other Service.

But neither this, nor all he could do, upon subsequent Treaties and Overtures moving from

Repeated  
Affronts to  
the Lord  
Lieutenants

themselves, could at all prevail with them, no not his Offering to put himself into the City, and running the same Fortune with it, when *Ireton* was incamped before it; but they continually multiplied, and repeated their Affronts towards him, with all imaginable Circumstances of Contempt (and in the End that we may have no more Occasion to mention the seditious Carriage of this unfortunate City) broke open his Trunk of Papers, (which he left there,) seized upon the Stores of Corn laid up there for the Supply of the Army, when he believed, that Place would be obedient to him; and some Corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all according to their own Pleasure, and received some Troops of Horse into the City, which contrary to the Marquess his Order left the Army, and with those Troops raised Contribution in the County of *Clare*, upon those who had honestly paid the same for the use of the Army, according to those Orders which they were to obey; and when the Marquess sent to the Mayor to deliver the Officer of the said Regiment as a Prisoner to the Guard appointed to receive him, he could get no other Answer (and that not in a Week) than that the Government of that City was committed to Major General *Hugh O Neal*, and therefore he the Mayor could not meddle therein; and when the like Order was sent by the Marquess to *Hugh O Neal*, he returned Answer, That he was only a Cypher, and not suffered to act any Thing but what the Mayor and Council thought fit: So that in Truth, that City was no less in Rebellion to the King than the Army under *Ireton* was: Though it had for a time resisted the Army, and could never have been subdued by it, if it had ever been in that Obedience to the King, as by their Obligation it ought to have been, and therefore must have less Peace of Conscience to support them, in the Calamities they have since undergone.

In the Letter formerly incerted from the Mar-  
 quess, about the beginning of *May*, to the Bishop  
 and Commissioners assembled at *Loghbreah*, it is said,  
 That in Pursuance of the former Agreement, he  
 had granted a Commission to the Bishop of *Clogher*,  
 for the Command of the Province of *Ulster*, it  
 will be therefore necessary to exprefs, what  
 that Agreement was, and the Proceedings there-  
 upon.

Amongst the Articles which had been made  
 with General *O Neal*, it was provided, That in  
 case of *Owen O Neal's* Death, or Removal by Ad-  
 vancement, or otherwise, before any Settlement in  
 Parliament, (to which all the Articles of  
 Peace related) the Nobility and Gentry of the  
 Province of *Ulster* should have Power to name  
 one to the Lord Lieutenant, as chief Governour  
 for his Majesty, to command in the Place of the  
 said *Owen O Neal*, and the said Command was  
 to be conferr'd accordingly upon the Person  
 to be nam'd: And according to this Power,  
*Owen O Neal* being dead, the Nobility, Bishops,  
 and principal Gentry of that Province, made  
 Choice of the Bishop of *Clogher* to succeed him  
 in the Charge, and having signify'd such their  
 Election under their Hands, to the Lord Lieute-  
 nant; about the middle of *March* he granted such  
 Commission to him as he was oblig'd to do,  
 and the Bishop with great Activity proceeded in  
 infesting the *English* Rebels in that Province,  
 as much as was in his Power, and having an Ar-  
 my consisting of about 5000 Men, Foot and  
 Horse, about the 23d of *June*, 1650, (when the  
 Lord Lieutenant could not draw one Thousand  
 Men together, or keep them, if together, Forty  
 Eight Hours) he encounter'd not far from *Lon-*  
*dererry* with Sir *Charles Coote*, who commanded  
 the *English* Rebels in those Quarters, and was then  
 inferior in Foot to the Bishop, tho' otherwise he had  
 a great

*Bishop of  
 Clogher  
 appointed  
 to com-  
 mand after  
 the Death  
 of O Neal*

*He infests  
 the Eng-  
 lish Rebels*

a great Advantage of him, by having near triple the Number of Horse, notwithstanding which Inequality, the *Irish* behav'd themselves with Courage, but in the End were totally defeated, so that the Bishop was compell'd, after he saw the Day totally lost, to quit the Field with a small Party of Horse that attended him, and the next Day in his Flight he had the Misfortune, near Enniskilling, to meet with the Governour of that Town, in the Head of a Party too strong for him, against which, however, the Bishop defended himself with notable Courage, but after he had received many Wounds, he was forc'd to become Prisoner upon Promise first that he should have fair Quarter, contrary to which Sir *Charles Coote*, as soon as he knew he was a Prisoner, caus'd him to be hang'd with all the Circumstances of Contumely, Reproach, and Cruelty he could devise.

*Is defeated  
by Coote,*

*And basely  
murder'd.*

This was the End of that unfortunate Prelate whom, since he bore so great a Part in the Troubles of *Ireland*, and was much superior in Parts to any Man of that Party, it will not be impertinent or uncharitable to mention some Particular Passages of his Life, that thereby his Nature and Disposition may be the better collected, and indeed the Spirit and Temper of Mind which those kind of Men were possess'd with, who had the greatest Abilities to do hurt some few Years before the Rebellion.

*His Character  
and History.*

This *Ever Mac Mahon* being an *Irish* Priest and residing for the most Part in, or near, *Dublin* repair'd to Sir *George Radcliffe*, who had a principal Part in the managing of Affairs in *Ireland* and being admitted to his Presence, desir'd to have some private Conference with him, without the Presence of any other; all Attendance and Strangers being withdrawn, he fell on his Knees, and said, *He came to put his Life into his Hands* told him he had committed many Treason

again

gainst the King, for which he felt that Remorse of Conscience, that he resolv'd rather to offer his life a Sacrifice by confessing it, than endure the Torment he felt by concealing it; That he was capable of no quiet of Mind but by disburthening himself, and if by the Grace and Mercy of the King he might obtain a Pardon for what was past, he would in such Manner apply himself to his Majesty's Service, that he would, in some Degree, merit the Benefit: And then told him, Of several Treaties which were abroad with foreign Princes, in order to the Disturbance of the Peace of the Nation.

Upon hearing him, and those great Expressions of Penitence, Sir George writes to one of the Secretaries of State in England, to inform his Majesty of all the Particulars, who (according to the Clemency of his Nature) sent a Warrant over for the preparing and passing his Pardon, which shortly after Sir George deliver'd to him, who again falling on his Knees, and magnifying the Mercy of the King, said, *He had now Peace of Mind, desir'd nothing but to deserve the Favour of so gracious a Sovereign, That he would content himself with that Evidence of his Majesty's Goodness without making further use of it, or suing out his Pardon according to the Formalities and Rules of Law, which, tho' necessary for his own Security, would (being that way made publick) disenable him from doing his Majesty that Service he intended, since he should be admitted into those Trusts, without which he could make no Discoveries.*

From hence forward during the whole Government of the Earl of Strafford, he gave frequent Advertisements of some Agitations by obscure and unknown Persons of that Nation, at Rome, and in France, and Spain, which were rather Instances of Murmuring, and seditious Purposes, than (reasonably) like to produce any notable Disturbance.

bance. From the beginning of the Rebellion his Power was very great with those that had been most (and he was of the least Diffimulation) violently opposite to any Reconciliation, upon the first and second Conclusion of Peace by the confederate Catholicks, and so he continu'd firm to the Party which follow'd *Owen O Neal*, or rather govern'd *Owen O Neal* who commanded that Party, and over and above those Demands which concern'd Religion, (to which they seem'd to adhere with more than ordinary Zeal, and thereby drew a depending of that Clergy to them) they insist'd upon the Restitution of the great Estates in *Ulster*, which was not in the Power of the Crown, without Violation of several Acts of Parliament, and defeating many Descents and Purchases which had past without any Interruption or Claim for the Space of one Hundred and Fifty Years. This impossible Expectation, kept *Owen O Neal* and the Bishop of *Clogher* from concurring with the confederate Catholicks, in the Peace he made with his Majesty; and the Animosity they contracted against the Confederates, inclin'd them to relieve *Derry*, when (as it is remember'd before) it was even ready to be reduc'd by his Majesty's Forces, rather than submit to the Peace made by them with the Lord Lieutenant. After they had found it necessary to make that Agreement with the Marquess, it must be acknowledg'd, that the Bishop perform'd, and observ'd very justly, (as he was punctual in what he promis'd) and apply'd himself with all Dexterity and Industry to the Advancement of his Majesty's Interest, so that during his Time he retain'd the Clergy in all their Assemblies, from making any Acts which might discourage the People from their Obedience to the King's Authority, and therefore how inconvenient soever his Service had been to the Peace and

and Happiness of that Nation, his Death was very unseasonable, which was remarkable and notorious in these Circumstances, That in less than a Year after he had brought *Owen O Neal* to relieve *Sir Charles Coote* in *Derry*, (who must otherwise in a few Days time have deliver'd it up to the King) his Army was defeated by the same *Sir Charles Coote*, and himself, after Quarter and Life promis'd, executed by the positive Order and Command of him whom he had thus preserved. Toward the End of *July* the Marquess receiv'd a Letter subscrib'd by two Persons who call'd themselves Arch-bishops of *Dublin* and *Tuam*; in these Words.

*May it please your Excellency,*

THIS Nation is become of late a Fable and  
 "Reproach, Christianity is brought to a  
 "sad Condition, notwithstanding the  
 frequent and laborious Meetings and Consultation of Prelates; we find Jealousies and Fear deep in the Hearts of Men, Thorns hard to be cut out; We see most men contributing to the Enemy, and rendering their Persons and Substance useless to his Majesty, and destructive to Religion and the King's Interest; These kind of Men (if not prevented) will immediately betray themselves and us; We find no Stock or Subsistence for the Soldier, nor is there any Army (any way considerable) in the Kingdom, to recover what is lost, or defend what we have: So, as humanly speaking, if God will not be pleas'd, for his Mercy Sake, to take from us the heavy Judgment of his Anger, we are afraid of losing sacred Religion, the King's Authority, and *Ireland*: The Four Arch-bishops to acquit their Consciences in the Eye of God, have resolv'd to meet at *James-*  
*Letter to the Lord Lieutenant from the Titular Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam.*  
 " *Town,*

" town, about the 6th Day of the next Month,  
 " and to bring along with them as many of the  
 " Suffragans as may repair thither with Safety;  
 " the End of this Consideration is to do what  
 " in us lies for the Amendment of all Errors, and  
 " the Recovery of this afflicted People: If your  
 " Excellency will think fit to send one or more  
 " Persons to make Proposals for the Safety of the  
 " whole Nation, we shall not want Willingness  
 " to prepare a good Answer, nor will we despair  
 " of the Blessing of God, and his powerful In-  
 " fluence to be upon our sincere Intentions in that  
 " Place; even so we conclude, remaining.

July 24.  
 1650.

Your Excellency's

Humble Servants,

Whoever reads this Summons or Invitation  
 will believe it to be *Satis pro imperio*, and that  
 such a Direction to send one or more Persons to  
 make Proposals to them for the Safety of the  
 Nation, and that such a negligent Expression (*that*  
*we shall not want Willingness to prepare a good An-*  
*swer*) could not proceed but from a superior to  
 an inferior Dependent; however, as the Marquis  
 knew it would be to no Purpose to inhibit the  
 Meeting, so he thought fit to write to them in  
 this Manner.

Lord Lieu-  
 tenant's  
 Answer.

" After our hearty Commendations, We  
 " receiv'd yours of the 24th of July, of  
 " the 1st of this Month, and do with much Gratitude  
 " acknowledge, That this Nation is brought in  
 " a sad Condition, and that by such Means, which  
 " it shall be known abroad, and by History de-  
 " ver'd to Posterity, will indeed be thought  
 " Fable, for it will seem incredible that a  
 " Nation should so madly affect and violently  
 " pursue Ways leading to their own Destruction.

"struction

struction, as this People will appear to have done, and that after the certain Ruin they were running into, was accidentally and frequently discover'd unto those that in all Times, and upon all Occasions, have had Power to to compel or perswade them to whatsoever they thought fit; and it will be thought less credible when it shall be declar'd, as in truth it will be, that the Temporal, Spiritual, and Eternal Interest and Safety of those that had this Power, (and that have been thus forewarned) did consist in making use of it to reclaim the People, and direct them into the Ways of Preservation: To be plain, it cannot be deny'd but the Disobedience we have met with, (which we at large declar'd to many of you, who with divers of the Nobility and Gentry were assembled at *Loughbreagh* in *April* last) were the certain ready Ways to the Destruction of this Nation, as by our Letters to the Assembly we made apparent, and ancient and late Experience hath made the thing evident, what Power those of your Function have had to draw the People of this Nation to what they thought fit: Whether your Lordships have been convinc'd that the Obedience which we desir'd should be given to his Majesty's Authority, pursuant to the Articles of Peace, was the Way to preserve the Nation, we know not; Or whether your Lordships have made use of all the Means upon other Occasions exercis'd by you, to procure the necessary Obedience, we shall not determine: Sure we are, that since the said Assembly, not only *Lymerick* hath persisted in the Disobedience, it was in, and aggravated it by several Affronts since fix'd upon the King's Authority, but *Galloway* hath been seduc'd into the like Disobedience, for want of a due Compliance in those Places, but principally

“ cipally from *Lymerick*. It hath been impossi-  
 “ ble for us to raise an Army against the Rebels  
 “ for to attempt it any where on the other Side  
 “ the *Shannon*, but near *Lymerick*, and without  
 “ absolute Command of that City to secure it  
 “ could be no other than certain Ruin of the  
 “ Design in the very beginning of it; and to  
 “ have done it on the other Side the *Shannon* was  
 “ impossible, since the Ground-work of the Army  
 “ must be rais’d and supported from hence  
 “ which, while it was forming, would have ex-  
 “ hausted all the Substance of those Parts, and not  
 “ have effected the Work: For want of such an  
 “ Army (which, with God’s Assistance, might cer-  
 “ tainly have been long since rais’d, if *Lymerick*  
 “ would have obey’d our Orders) the Rebels have  
 “ without any considerable Resistance from a-  
 “ broad, taken *Clonmell*, *Ferrogan*, and *Cather-  
 “ lagh*, and reduc’d *Waterford*, and *Duncannon*  
 “ to great (and we fear irrecoverable) Distress  
 “ The Loss of those Places, and the Want  
 “ of any suitable Power to protect them, have  
 “ doubtless reduc’d many to contribute their  
 “ Substance and personal Assistance to the Re-  
 “ bels, from whence, whether they might have  
 “ been held by Church Censures, we know not  
 “ but have not heard of any such issu’d against  
 “ them: And lastly, for want of such an Army  
 “ the Rebels have taken to themselves Contri-  
 “ butions, which considerably would have assisted  
 “ to support any Army, and preserve the King’s  
 “ dom. If therefore the end of your Consultation  
 “ on at *Jamestown* be to acquit your Conscience  
 “ in the Eyes of God, the Amendment of all  
 “ Errors, and the Recovery of this afflicted Peo-  
 “ ple, as by your Letter, giving us Notice of your  
 “ Meeting, as is profess’d, we have endeavour’d  
 “ briefly to shew, that the Spring of our former  
 “ Losses, and approaching Ruin, arises from  
 Disobedienc

Disobedienc

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Disobedience, and it will not be hard to shew, that the Spring of this Disobedience arises from the Forgeries invented, and Calumnies spread against the Government, and Enticement of the People to Rebellion, by very many of the Clergy. That these are Errors frequently practis'd, and fit for an Amendment, is no more to be doubted, than that unless they be amended, the Affliction of the People will continue; and as it is to be fear'd, end in their utter Destruction; which if prevented by what your Consultations will produce, the happy Effect of your Meeting will be acknowledg'd, without questioning the Authority by which you met. Proposals from us, other than what we have formerly, and now by this our Letter, made, we hold not necessary. And so we bid you heartily farewell,

*Your Lordships*

*Affectionate Friend,*

oscommon, Aug. 2. 1650.

ORMOND.

*directed to our very  
good Lords, the Arch-  
bishops and Bishops met  
at Jamestown.*

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, several Bishops who met at *Jamestown* sent the Bishop of *Down*, and Dr. *Charles Kelly*, to the Lord Lieutenant with this Letter of Credit.

*May it please your Excellency,*

WE receiv'd your Letter of the second Current, where, to our Grief and Admirati-  
on, we saw some Expressions that seem meant for the casting the Blame upon us of the present sad  
the casting the Blame upon us of the present sad  
" Con-  
fession.

" Condition of the Kingdom, which we hope to a  
 " swer to the Satisfaction of your Excellency and the  
 " whole Kingdom ; in the mean time we permit  
 " this Protestation, as we are Christian Catholicks  
 " lick Bishops, that we have done our Endeavours,  
 " vours, with all Earnestness and Candour, for  
 " the taking away from the Hearts of the People,  
 " ple, all Jealousies and Differences, that we  
 " conceiv'd the Occasion of so many Disasters  
 " that beset the Nation, and that on all Occasions  
 " fions our Actions and Co-operations were ready  
 " dy to accompany all your Excellency's Designs  
 " fires for the Preservation of his Majesty's Interest  
 " tereft in this Kingdom, whose State being in  
 " this present desperate Condition ; We have  
 " thought it our Duty to offer to your Excellency  
 " lency our Sense of the only Possibility we  
 " could devise for its Preservation, and that by the  
 " Intervention, and Expression of the Lord Bishop  
 " shop of *Dromore* and *Dr. Charles Kelly*, Dean of  
 " *Tuam*, who shall clearly deliver to your Excellency  
 " lency our Thoughts and good Intentions, as to  
 " this Effect, praying your Excellency to give  
 " Credit to what they will declare in our Name  
 " in this Business, which will be still own'd as our  
 " Commands laid upon them, and the Declaration  
 " tion of the sincere Hearts of

*Your Excellency's*

*Aug. 10.  
1650.*

*Most Humble Servants,*

H. Armagh, Jo. Archiep. Tuam  
 Nicholas Fernensis & Procurator  
 tor Archiep. Dublin, Jo. Ropotensis,  
 Eug. Killmore, Antonius Clanmacnensis,  
 diacon. & Procurator Leight,  
 Jamestown.

Whe

When the two Persons had deliver'd their Credential Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, he wish'd them, in Regard of the Importance of the Matter they were intrusted with, to deliver what they had, in Writing: Whereupon they presented him with a Paper, containing these Words.

*May it please your Excellency,*

**B**EING intrusted by the Clergy met at <sup>Paper de-</sup>James-<sup>liver'd to</sup>town, to deliver a Message to your Ex-<sup>the Lord</sup>cellency, imparting their Advices, what only <sup>Lineute-</sup>Means is, as they conceive that may serve to <sup>nant.</sup>free the Nation from the sad Condition whereunto it is reduc'd at present, do in Obedience to your Excellency's Commands, signify'd for giving the Substance of that Message in Writing, humbly represent the same to be as follows.

"That whereas your Excellency (they doubt not) hath labour'd by other Hands, to bring the best Aids that possibly could be had for the Relief of this gasping Nation, yet finding now in their Consciences no other Expedient or Remedy for the Prosecution thereof, and of his Majesty's Interest therein, more prevalent than your Excellency's speedy Repair to his Majesty for the preventing the Ruin and Desolation of all, and leaving the King's Authority in the Hands of some Person or Persons faithful to his Majesty, and trusty to the Nation, and such as the Affections and Confidence of the People will follow, by which the Rage and Fury of the Enemy will receive Interruption, they humbly offer, this important Matter of the Safety or Destruction of this Nation, and the King's Interest, unto your Wisdom and Consideration, hoping that the Kingdom, by your Excellency's Presence

"with

" with his Majesty, and intrusting the King's  
 " Authority safely, as above, may, by God's Bless-  
 " ing, hold out, till reliev'd by his Majesty with  
 " Supplies; the Prelates in the mean time will  
 " do what lyes in their Power to assist the Per-  
 " son, or Persons, so intrusted: The great Trust  
 " his Majesty doth repose in your Excellency, the  
 " vast Interest of Fortune, the Alliance and Kin-  
 " dred you have in the Nation, and your Excel-  
 " lency's Presence in the Management of Affairs  
 " of the greatest Consequence, will, we doubt not,  
 " added to the other Reasons propos'd by us, in-  
 " duce you to embrace their Advice, as proceed-  
 " ing from our pious Intention, that look only  
 " upon the Preservation of the Catholick Reli-  
 " gion, the Support of his Majesty's Authority,  
 " and the Estates, Liberties, and Fortunes of his  
 " Subjects of this Kingdom, which we heartily  
 " offer, as

Aug. 13th.  
 1650.

Your Excellency's

Most Humble Servants,

Oliver Dromore.  
 Charles Kelly.

Tho' the Marquess did not expect that the Meet-  
 ing of the Bishops and Clergy in that Manner  
 at Jamestown would have produc'd any better Effect,  
 than their former Meetings in other Places had  
 done, yet he could not imagine that their Pre-  
 sumption would have been so great, as it appear'd  
 by this Message to be, and when he communicated  
 it to the Commissioners of Trust, they were not  
 less scandaliz'd at it, and believ'd that upon seri-  
 ous Conference with the Bishops, they should be

able to reform their Misunderstanding, and their Wills, and therefore desir'd the Marquess, that instead of sending a particular Answer to the Matter of the Message, he would write to them to give him a Meeting at *Loughreagh* on the 26th of the same Month, to the End, that upon a free Conference they might be induc'd to understand how pernicious a thing they had devis'd in order to their own Security.

The Bishop of *Dromore* and Dr. *Kelly* return'd with this Proposition, and the Marquess making no Doubt of their Compliance, so far as to meet at the Place he appointed, he went thither at the Day assign'd; they suffer'd the Marquess to make a Journey to *Loughreagh* at the time appointed,

but instead of meeting him themselves, they sent the Bishops of *Cork* and *Clonsfert*, no otherwise intrusted than to receive his Answer to the Proposition they had made for his leaving the Kingdom: To which, when he saw he could not draw

them to a Conference, he return'd, *That they might well remember, that upon the Disobedience he had formerly met with, he had obtain'd leave from his*

*Majesty to depart the Kingdom, and that if themselves, the Bishops, the Nobility, and Gentry met together had not in April last, in Writing and Discourse, given him Assurance, that they not only desir'd his Stay, but endeavour'd to procure him such Obedience as might well enable him (with hope of Suc-*

*cess) to have carry'd on the War, he would have made use of the Liberty given unto him by his Majesty, to have freed himself from the Vexation he had since endur'd, and the Dishonour which he foresaw he should be subject to, for want of Power, without which (as he then told them) he should be able to do nothing considerable for the King or the Nation; that he had transmitted those Assurances to his Majesty, with his own Resolution to attend the Effects; That he plainly observ'd that the Division was great in the Nation,*

Lord Lieutenant appoints a Meeting with the Irish Bishops at Loughreagh.

But reject-ed, and only two Persons sent to receive his Answer to their Proposition.

under his Government, yet it would be greater upon his Removal, of which, in a free Conference he would have given them such pregnant Evidence, as he believed not fit to declare to them in Writing: For these and other Reasons he told them, that unless he were forced by inevitable Necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the Kingdom, and desired them to use all Means within their Power, to dispose the People to their Dutyfulness and Obedience as became them.

This wrought nothing on the Temper of these Men, who were resolv'd not to be satisfy'd with any thing the Marquess could say to them; in so much, that within few Days after they had receiv'd his Answer from *Loughbreagh*, at the time when the Rebels were strong in the Field, and had then pass'd the *Shannon*, if they had not been restrain'd by the few Troops the Marquess kept on Foot: They publish'd an Excommunication against all those, of what Quality soever, who should seek help, or adhere unto the Lord Lieutenant, in which this Circumstance is observable, That tho' they did not publish this Excommunication until the 15th of September, it was enacted at their Assembly at *Jamestown*, the 12th of August, which was within two Days after they had sent the Bishop of *Dromore*, and Dr. *Kelly*, to persuade the Marquess to leave the Kingdom, and the Day before they deliver'd their Message, which was on the 13th; so that they thought any thing that the Lord Lieutenant should return to them, would be impertinent to the Matter in hand, or if they were not so delighted with their own Proceedings that they have themselves carefully publish'd to the World in Print, would it be believ'd that Persons who in the least Degree pretended the Care of the Peoples Welfare or Security, could, at such a time (when a potent, bloody, and malicious Enemy was in the Field) set all Men loose from all Government, Civil and Martial, and not direct them

Whereupon they extravagantly excommunicate all who should adhere to the Lord Lieutenant

them whom they should follow or obey; for it is id, *They were advis'd to return to their Association, and until a General Assembly of the Nation could be conveniently call'd, unanimously to serve against the common Enemy*; since no Persons were nam'd or appointed to conduct them, it must be acknowledged, that they were left without any Directions at all, to the Rage and Sway of those who attended nothing but their utter Extirpation.

Together with their Excommunication, they publish'd in the Head of the Army, a Declaration, intitled, *A Declaration of the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates and Dignitaries of the regular and Secular Clergy of the Kingdom of Ireland, against the Continuance of his Majesty's Authority in the Marquess of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the misgovernment of his Subjects, and ill conduct of his Majesty's Army, and Violation of the Articles of Peace, dated at James-Town, in the event of the Fryers Minors, 12th August, 1690.* And publish a Declaration.

If the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Secular, and regular Clergy of Ireland, will take upon them to declare against the King's Authority where his Majesty hath placed it, and will make themselves Judges of his Supreme Minister, for the misgovernment of his Subjects, and ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army; they assume an Authority to themselves, which no other Christian Clergy ever attended; and sufficiently declare to the King, how far they are from being Subjects, or intending to pay him any Obedience, larger than they are governed in such Manner, and by such Persons as they think fit to be us'd with.

If the Marquess of Ormond had misgoverned the People, and conducted his Majesty's Army ill, the Clergy are not competent Judges of the one or the other; and for the Viola-

tion of the Articles of Peace, the Commissioners nominated and appointed for the due Execution of them, were the only Persons who could determine and remedy such Violations, and who well knew there was no Cause for their Complaint; but on the other hand, (as hath been before mentioned) they obstructed that Concurrence and Obedience in the People, without which those Articles could not be observed, or the Security of the People provided for.

*Purport of  
the Decla-  
ration.*

The Preface of that Declaration (according to the usual Method) justified and magnified their Piety and Virtue in the beginning and carrying on of the War, extolled their Duty and Affection to the King, in submitting to him, and returning to their Allegiance, when (they said) they could have better or as good Conditions from the Rebels of England; intimated, what a vast sum of Money they had provided, near half a Million of English Pounds besides several Magazines of Corn, with a fair Train of Artillery, great Quantity of Powder, Match, and Ammunition, with other Materials, for carrying on the War, and many other Particulars of that Nature,

*Untruth  
thereof.*

the monstrous Untruth whereof, doth sufficiently appear, in what hath been said before the Marquess having been forced to borrow those little Sums of Money out of the Pockets of his Friends, and to spend all that he raised (upon the Sale of a good Quantity of his own Land, for the Support of his Wife and Children) to enable his Army to march, and which was never repaid him, and the Magazine of Corn, Ammunition and other Materials for War, being so absolutely unfurnished, that it was not possible for him to reduce those small Forts of *Mary-borow* and *Alton* held by *Owen O Neal's* Party, till he had by his own Power and Interest procured some Supplies, when he did Contract with a Merchant, and assigned to the King's Dues upon the Customs, and other

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ies for his Payment for Arms, (and for which the Merchant remains still unsatisfied) to a great Value, so far were these Men from making that Provision they brag of.

What Conditions they might have had from the Rebels of *England*, may be concluded by the Usage they have since found, Divine Justice having made that bloody People more mercilefs towards those, (whose Frowardness, Obstinacy, and Treachery against the King's Authority contributed most to their Service) than against any who worthily opposed them, and were most Enemies to their Proceedings.

They endeavoured by all imaginable Reproaches and Calumnies to lessen the People's Reverence towards the Lord Lieutenant, laying such Aspersions on him in the said Declaration, as might most alienate their Affections, though themselves knew them to be untrue, and without Colour. They complained that he had given many Commissions for Collonels and other Commands, and upon them consumed the Substance of the Kingdom, who most betrayed or deserted the Service; whereas they well knew, there was not one *Protestant* Officer, to whom the Lord Lieutenant gave a Commission, who betrayed any Place committed to him, or was otherwise treated, in order to their Support, than all other Officers of the same Condition in the Army, nor did they quit the Service, until after many of them had gallantly lost their Lives, and that the Clergy had so far incensed the People against them, only for being *Protestants*, that the Marquess was compelled to give them Passes to depart the Kingdom, or otherwise to dispose of themselves; and the Rebels were glad to let them pass through their Quarters, or to remain in them, that thereby they might deprive the King of the only Strength they apprehended, the Officers being of such known Courage and Conduct.

They

They accuse him of Improvidence in conducting the Army, after the Defeat at *Rathmines*, of not relieving *Drogheda*, of permitting Play, Drinking, and Licentiousness in the Camp, and as bold Aspersions as (without Excommunication) might gain Credit with the People, and reflect upon his Honour, where he was not enough known; whereas the Action of *Rathmines*, set down before at large, and the taking of *Drogheda* by Storm, when it was scarce apprehended, and it is notoriously known that in his own Person he was so strict and vigilant, that he gave not himself leave to enjoy those Pleasures and Liberties which might very well have consisted with the Office and Duty of a most severe General, and that in above three Months Time (which at his first drawing the Forces to the Rendezvous, till after the Misfortune, at *Rathmines*) he never slept out of his Soldiers Habit; so that the Malice and Craft of those unreasonable and senseless Calumnies, are easy enough to be discovered, and can only make an Impression upon vulgar Minds, not informed enough of the Humour and Spirit of the Contrivers.

They magnified exceedingly the Merit of the Prelates, the Declaration they had made at *Clanmacnois*, their frequent Expressions of their Sincerity, and most blamed the *Marquess* for not making use of their Power and Diligence towards the advancing of the King's Interest, but rather for suspecting and blaming them by his Letter, to the Prelates at *James-Town*, of the 2d of *August*; (which is before remembred) and they said, that Words were heard to fall from him dangerous, as to the Persons of some Prelates; to all which little need be said, since there is before so full and just mention of their fair Declaration and Profession, and their Actions which accompanied them; and for the Danger some Prelates were in, they will

will be ashamed to urge, where it is known, that the Bishop of *Killaloe* was brought to him in Custody, after they had signed this Declaration and Excommunication, and set at Liberty by him; and when the Bishops themselves, in their Letter to the Earl of *Westmeath*, do acknowledge to have been preserved by the Marquess, and for which many will rather expect an Apology, than for any Jealousy he could entertain of Persons, who behaved themselves in that manner towards the King's Lieutenant.

They charged him with having represented to his Majesty, that some Parts of the Kingdom were disobedient, which absolutely denied any Disobedience by them committed, and that thereby he had procured from his Majesty, a Letter to withdraw his own Person, and the Royal Authority, if such Disobedience was multiplied, and so leave the People without the Benefit of the Peace; this was the Reward (they said) his Excellency, out of his Envy to that Catholick Loyal Nation, prepared for their Loyalty, sealed with the shedding, of their Blood, and the Loss of their Substance.

Whether the Obstinate and Rebellious Carriage of *Waterford*, and *Lymerick*, which brought Destruction upon themselves, did not deserve and require such a Representation to be made to the King, may be judged by all Men, upon what hath been before truly set down of those Particulars, and if the Places themselves had not acknowledged those Acts of Disobedience, the Prelates had seemed to lament them, and most earnestly dissuaded him from leaving the Kingdom, promising all their Endeavours to reduce the People to Obedience; (which was only in their Power to have done.) After all which, meeting with so many repeated Sights and Affronts, the  
Marquess.

Marquess had been much to blame, longer to have exposed himself and his Honour to those Reproaches, and to have suffered his Person with the important Name of the Lieutenant of *Ireland* to have remained in that Kingdom, and every Day to hear of the rendring and betraying of Places to the Rebels, which he could no more remedy, than he could infuse a Spirit of Obedience, Unity and Understanding into that unhappy insatuated Nation; yet he was so far from wishing, that his Majesty should absolutely withdraw his Royal Authority from them (how unworthy soever they made themselves of it) that he always offered to leave the King's Power in the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, as he afterwards did, hoping that since their great Exception to him, was for being a *Protestant*, they could with all Alacrity have complied with the other, who is known to be a most zealous *Roman Catholick*, and whose Affection & Integrity to his Majesty was unquestionable.

They reproached him, that while he was an Enemy to the Catholics, he had been very active in unnatural Executions against them, and shedding the Blood of poor Priests and Churchmen: But that since the Peace he had shewed little of Action, and then kept himself in *Connaught* and *Thomond*, where no Danger was, and the Enemy appeared not, so that they would neither suffer him to have an Army to oppose the Rebels, nor be content that he should retire into those Places where the Enemy could least infest him, and from whence with those few Troops which remained with him, he defended the *Shannon*, and kept the Rebels from getting over the River, while he stayed there; and for the former Activity and Success against them, which they were content to impute to him. It was when he had a free Election of Officers, and an absolute Power over his Garrisons, where he caused the Soldiers continually to be exercising their

Arms,

Arms, kept in Order; and from whence he could have drawn his Army together, and have marched with it to what Place he would, which Advantages he was now without, and the Rebels were possessed of: And therefore it was no wonder, that they now obtained their Victories easily, as he had done formerly. But since they were so disingenuous and ungrateful (there being many among them, whose Lives he had saved with apparent Danger to himself) to charge him with being active in unnatural Executions against them, and in shedding the blood of poor Priests and Church-men; and for the Improvement and Propagation of Calumnies, hath pleased some Persons to cause that Declaration to be translated into *Latin*, and printed, thereby to make him odious to the *Roman* Catholicks, and have named two Priests (who they say) were by his Orders executed, and put to Death in cold blood; and after his Promise to save their Lives, whose Names were Mr. *Higgins* and Mr. *White*: It will not be impertinent to set down at large the Case of these two Persons, that from thence, Men who have no Mind to be deceived and misled may judge of the Candor and Sincerity of those Persons, who would obtrude such Calumnies to the World.

It must therefore be known, that when those two Priests were put to Death, the War was conducted, and carried on by the Two Houses of Parliament, that the Government of *Ireland* was in the Hands of the Two Lords Justices, *Parsons* and *Orlance*, who upon the Cruelties first practised by the *Irish* Catholicks in the beginning of the Rebellion, had forbidden any Quarter to be given, and taken all the ways to incense the Soldiers against the *Irish* Nation, and principally against all Priests; and the Marquess of *Ormond* was only then Lieutenant General of the Army, and received all Orders from the Lords Justices, who were

were jealous of him, as a Person who dissembled his Devotion unto the King, and who were directed to watch his Actions as strictly, as if he had been their Enemy. At this time the *Marquess* having Intelligence, that a Party of the Rebels intended to be at such a time at the *Naas*; he drew some Troops together with hopes of surprizing them, and marching all Night, came early in the Morning into the Town, from which the Rebels upon Notice were newly fled; in the Town some of the Soldiers found Mr. *Higgins*, who might (its true) have as easily fled, if he had apprehended any Danger in the stay; when he was brought before the *Marquess*, he voluntarily acknowledged, that he was a *Papist*, and that his Residence was in the Town, from whence he refused to fly away with those that were guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed that he should not be without ample Evidence of it, having by his sole Charity and Power preserved very many of the *English Protestants* from the Rage and Fury of the *Irish*; and therefore, he only besought the *Marquess* to preserve him from the Violence of the Soldiers, and to put him securely into *Dublin*, to be tried for any Crime, which the *Marquess* promised to do, and performed it, though with so much Hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the Soldiers, that he was a *Papist*; the Officer into whose Custody he was intrusted, was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the *Marquess* could do to relieve him, and compose the Mutiny: When he came to *Dublin*, he informed the Lords Justice of the prisoner he had brought with him, of the good Testimony he had received of his peaceable Carriage, of the Pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had Credit, from entering into Rebellion, and of very many charitable Offices he had performed, of which there wanted no

Evidence

Evidence enough, there being many then in *Dublin*, who owed their Lives, and whatsoever of their Fortunes were left, purely to him; so that he doubted not, he would be worthy of Protection; within a few Days after, when the *Marquess* did not suspect the poor Man's being in Danger, he heard that *Sir Charles Coote*, who was *Provost Marshal General*, had taken him out of Prison, and caused him to be put to death in the Morning, before, or as soon as it was Light; of which Barbarity, the *Lord Marquess* complained to the Lords Justices, but was so far from bringing the matter to be questioned, that he found himself to be upon some Disadvantage, for thinking the Proceeding to be other, than it ought to have been. This was the Case of *Mr. Higgins*, and this the *Marquess* his Part in it, and the poor Man was so far from complaining of that breach of Promise at his Death (how confidently soever it may be averred) that he exceedingly acknowledged the Favour he had received from his Lordship, prayed for his Prosperity, and lamented his want of Power, to do that which the World saw his Inclination prompted him to. The Proceedings against *Mr. White* was very different, and in this manner; the *Marquess* being upon the March with his Army, he quartered one Night at *Clonie*, (a House of the *Earl of Westmeath's* who was residing there with his Wife and Family) when he was at Supper many of the Officers being at the Table, the Lady of the House upon some whisper she received from a Servant, expressed some Trouble in her Countenance, which the *Marquess* (who sat next her) perceiving, asked her what the Matter was, she told him in his Ear, that she was in great Apprehension for an honest Man who was in her House, and much feared the Soldiers, confessing, that he was a Priest. The *Marquess* replied,

that

An Instance of the bloody Disposition of the English Rebels.

that if he was in the House, and kept himself there, he was in no Danger; for as the Soldiers would attempt nothing, while the Marquess stayed there, so he would leave a Guard at his Departure, that should secure it against Stragglers, or any Party that should stay behind; which he did accordingly. In the Morning, when he was ready to March, he received Information That the Rebels were possessed of a Pass by which he was to go, whereupon he sent some Troops to get afore, Three Miles from the Way the Army was to March, and by that means to come up on the Rear of the Rebels by the time the Army could come to the Pass; (which being done after a short Encounter in which many were killed) the Rebels were put to Flight, and the Pass gained. In this Action Mr. *White* was taken on Horseback with a Case of Pistols, who desired to be brought to the Marquess, which being done, he told him he was the Person, for whom the Countess of *Westmeath* had desired his Favour the Day before, and that his Lordship had promised he should be safe. The Marquess told him, that if he was the same Person, it was his own Fault that he was not safe. If he had stayed in the House, it had not befall'n him, That it was not now in his Power to preserve him, himself being bound to observe those Orders which the Lds. Justices had given him. Nevertheless he did endeavour to have saved him at least, till he might be brought to *Dublin*: But the whole Army (which was possessed by the Parliament, and by the Lords Justices, with a very bitter Spirit against the Roman Catholick Clergy) mutiny'd upon it, and in the end, compelled the Marquess to leave him to that Justice, which they were authorized to execute, and so the Man was by them put to Death. Who can now, upon these two Instances, (and no other have been, or can be given)

given) reasonably or honestly say, that the *Marquess* hath had his Hands defiled with the Blood of Priests? And from the Time, that he had the chief Power committed to him, there was not only any Priest (how maliciously or treacherously soever they behaved themselves against the King's Service, or to the Person of the Lord Lieutenant) who suffered Death; but all other Acts of Rage and Blood were declined, and discountenanced by him.

I shall pass over the many Tautologies, and impertinent Calumnies in the said Declaration. All which are sufficiently answered and cleared, by what is already contained in this Narrative; and shall only insert the Conclusion in their own Words, which are as followeth: "For the Prevention of these Evils, and that the Kingdom may not be utterly lost to his Majesty, and his Catholick Subjects: This Congregation of Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, and Dignitaries of both Clergies of this Kingdom, found our selves bound in Conscience (after great Deliberation) to declare against the Continuance of his Majesty's Authority in the Person of the Lord Marquess of *Ormond*; having by his Misgovernment, ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army, and Breach of Faith with the People, in several Particulars of the Articles of Peace, render'd himself incapable of continuing that great Trust any longer, being questionable before his Majesty, for the aforesaid Injuries and ill Government (to which Effect, we will joyn with other Members of this Kingdom, in drawing a Charge against him) and We hereby manifest unto the People, That they are no longer obliged to obey the Orders and Commands of the said Marquess of *Ormond*, but are, until a General Assembly of the Nation can be conveniently called together, unanimously  
to

*Conclusion  
of the De-  
claration.*

“ to serve against the Common Enemy, for the  
 “ Defence of the *Catholick* Religion, his Majesty’s  
 “ Interest, their Liberties, Lives and Fortunes  
 “ in pursuance of the Oath of Association, and to  
 “ observe in the mean Time, the Form of Govern-  
 “ ment the said Congregation shall prescribe, un-  
 “ til otherwise ordered by an Assembly, or until  
 “ by Application to his Majesty, he settle the  
 “ same otherwise. And we do fulminate the an-  
 nexed Excommunication of one Date with this  
 Declaration, against all Opposers of the said De-  
 claration.

It would probably appear as unnecessary, and  
 might be thought an uncharitable Sharpness to in-  
 veigh against, or to observe by Gloss or Para-  
 phrase the Logick, and unavoidable Consequence of  
 the Doctrine, and particular Conclusion in this  
 monstrous Declaration; since all the sober Pro-  
 fessors of the *Roman Catholick* Religion abhorred  
 it, as aiming at, and (indeed) assuming Jurisdic-  
 tion, which the united Body of the Prelates and  
 Clergy in no one Catholick Kingdom or Country  
 in *Christendom* do pretend to have, and containing  
 such Clauses, which by the established Laws of  
 every Kingdom and Country in *Christendom* are  
 manifestly treasonable; and it is much more re-  
 quisite to vindicate the Marquess from the very na-  
 tural Imputation of Levity, and most supine Re-  
 missness of Government, for not chastising and  
 suppressing that seditious Spirit in the Clergy,  
 which from the very Conclusion of the Peace,  
 perplexed and distracted him in whatsoever he went  
 about, and infusing Jealousies and Distrusts into  
 the Hearts of the People: And that he did not up-  
 on this last transcendent Treason of the Bishops,  
 seize upon their Persons, and proceed against them  
 in an exemplary Way of Justice, at least that he  
 did not apprehend the Ring-leaders of them, after  
 they had published their wicked and rebellious

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excommunication, and taken some sudden Vengeance upon them, by any Act of out-rage, when there was no Means for a formal Proceeding by the common Rules of Justice, before the Effects of their Presumption should have been discerned, the shrinking away and disbanding those few troops, which then remained, and there is no doubt, but he will be thought by all, who are not enough acquainted with the Temper of that People, much more liable to Reproaches of that Kind, than the other of Rigour and Severity against the *Roman Catholicks*, of which he was not in the least degree guilty: But the Truth is, he will easily be absolved from that Reprehension, by all who are sufficiently informed of the incredible and unreasonable Reverence, which the common People of the Nation pay their Clergy of what inferiour Rank soever, and that they have all their Directions and Determinations in that obscure Veneration; that when a Regiment hath been marching by the Orders of their General, a seditious Fryer hath put himself into the Head of them, taking the Colours in his Hand, and pronouncing Damnation to those who would presume to march; whereupon, notwithstanding all the Commands of their Superior Officers (who though *Roman Catholicks*) were for the most part scandalized at theemeanour of the Clergy; all the Soldiers have thrown down their Arms, and departed to their several Habitations, as it fell out in an Expedition at *Kilkenny*.

Nor was it possible for the Marquess to procure Justice to be inflicted in a Civil or Martial way upon an Ecclesiastical Person, let his Crime be what it would, since even those whose Zeal or Affection to his Majesty's Service was unquestionable, and who were as highly offended at the incredible Carriage of the Proceeding of the Bishops

Bishops and Clergy, as they ought to be, and whose Duty was not in the least Degree shaken by the Declaration and Excommunication, were yet so tender of those Immunities and Privileges which were said to belong to the Church, and so jealous of the Behaviour of the People in any Case, which should be declared a Violation of those Privileges, that they would by no means have any Hand in inflicting capital Punishment on any Church-man, without the Approbation and Co-operation of the *Bishops*, who were not like to be so hard-hearted, as to consent to any Judgment upon the Accessories in the Crimes, in which themselves were the Principals; so that he must not only have determined by his own single Will and Judgment, what was to be done in those Cases, but he must have executed these Determinations with his own Hand; and this Consideration obliged the Marquis to all those Condescensions and Sufferings, and upon all Occasions to endeavour to dispose, and dissuade those Prelates from any obstinate and ruinous Resolutions, rather than to declare them to be Enemies, whom he could neither reform nor punish.

The Consequences of the wild Proceedings of the Irish Prelates.

The Excommunication was no sooner published by the Congregation, and consented to, and approved by the other Part of the Bishops and Clergy who were sitting at *Gallway*, but they quickly discerned how imprudently, as well as unwarrantably, they had proceeded in order to their own Ends, and that they had taken Care only to dissolve and disband the Forces, without making any kind of Provision for the Opposition of the Rebels, who had quickly Notice of their ridiculous Madness, and were thereupon advancing with their whole Power upon them; the People who generally foresaw, what must be the

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Due of that Confusion, thought of nothing but  
 compounding with the *Rebels* upon any Conditions;  
 the Nobility, and principal Gentry, and the Com-  
 missioners of Trust, who saw the whole Power and  
 Jurisdiction wrested from them, and assumed, and  
 exercised by the Congregation, continued their Ap-  
 plication to the Lord Lieutenant, to desire him  
 not to leave them exposed to the Confusion which  
 must attend his Departure. The gravest, and most  
 pious Spirits of the Clergy lamented the unskilful  
 spirits of the rest, and even some of the Bishops,  
 and those who were present at the Congregation,  
 and subscribed the Excommunication, disclaimed  
 their having consented to it, though they were  
 obliged to sign it for Conformity; so that they  
 found it necessary within less than three Days, to  
 suspend that dreadful Sentence; and yet that it  
 might appear, how unwillingly they did those Acts  
 of Gentleness and Sobriety, it will not be amiss to  
 set down the Letter it self, which the Titular  
 Bishop of *Clonfort*, and Dr. Charles Kelly wrote to  
 the Officers of the Army under the Command of  
 the Lord Marquess of *Clanrickard*, to that Purpose,  
 which was in these Words,

YESTERDAY we received an Express from the  
 rest of our Congregation at *Gallway*  
 bearing this Sense, to suspend the Effect of the  
 Excommunication proclaimed by their Order,  
 till the Service of *Athlone* be performed, fear-  
 ing on the one side, a dispersing of the Ar-  
 my; and on the other, having received certain  
 Intelligence of the Enemies approach to that  
 Place, with their Force and Number of fight-  
 ing Men; and, thereupon would have us con-  
 cur with them, in suspending the said Excom-  
 munication; As for our parts, We judge that  
 Suspension unnecessary and full of Inconvenience,

Letter to  
 suspend the  
 Excommu-  
 nication.

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“ which

" which we apprehend may ensue, because the Ex-  
 " communication may be obeyed, and the Service  
 " not neglected, if the People were pleased to un-  
 " dertake the Service in the Clergy's Name  
 " without relating to the Lord of Ormond, or  
 " any that may take his Part ; yet fearing the  
 " Censure of singularity in a Matter against Us, or  
 " to be deemed more forward in excommunicating  
 " than others: Also fearing the Weakness of some  
 " (which we believe the Congregation feared) who  
 " are pleased to follow the Major Vote, and against  
 " our own Opinion concur with them ; and do  
 " hereby suspend the said Censure as above ; pro-  
 " vided always, that after the Service performed  
 " or the Service be thought necessary by the Cler-  
 " gy, or when the said Clergy shall renew it, it  
 " shall be presently incurred, as if the said Sus-  
 " pension had never been interposed, and so to  
 " remain,

Corbie, Sept.  
 16th. 1650.

*Your assured Loving*

*Friends in Christ,*

Walter Bishop of Clonfarnham  
 Charles Kell

If these authentick Truths (whereof there is no  
 room for the least doubt) were not inserted, who  
 could believe it possible, that Men indued with  
 common Understanding, and professing the Do-  
 ctrine of Christianity and Allegiance of Subjects  
 could upon Deliberation publish such Devices  
 And who can wonder, that a People enslaved  
 and conducted by such Spiritual Leaders, should be-  
 come a Prey to an Enemy, though supplied with  
 less Power, Vigilance, and Dexterity, than those  
 prosperous Rebels always were ; who have pro-  
 vailed

vailed against them, and who by all kind of Reproaches, Rigour and Tyranny, have made that unhappy Congregation pay dear Interest for the Contempt and Indignity, with which they prosecuted their Sovereign, and his Authority.

Though most of the Commissioners of Trust, and the principal Nobility, and the most considerable Gentry, remained in their particular Affection and Resolution, firm and unshaken in their Devotion to the King, and in their Submission to the Authority of his Lieutenant; (notwithstanding the Declaration and Excommunication,) yet there fell out an unhappy Accident, which in this Juncture seemed to give some Countenance, and did procure such Submission to that extravagant Behaviour of the Clergy. The King was in Scotland, and was about that Time by the Force and Rigour of the Party, which was then possessed of the whole Power in the Kingdom absolutely forced to consent; that is, to set his Hand to several Papers, which were proposed and brought to him, and without the doing whereof, he was plainly told, he should have no power or Authority over the People, not without Implication enough, that his Person would not long remain at Liberty, and they who would have opposed those Proceedings, both for Matter and Manner, if they had been able, were as importunate with his Majesty to redeem himself from the Mischiefs which threatened him, by complying with what he could not controul, as the only Means to recover that power which was usurped from him, and which indeed he did in a short time reduce to the proper Channel. Amongst the Papers so obtained as aforesaid, There was a Declaration in his Majesty's Name, by which the Peace concluded with the Irish Catholics in the Year 1648. by the Authority of the late King of ever glorious Memory, and confirmed by his

*The King forced to Acts, which gave Countenance to this Behaviour of the Irish Prelates.*

Majesty who now Reigns, was pronounced and adjudged void, and that his Majesty was absolved from any Observation of it ; and this not grounded on those particular Breaches, Violations and Affronts which had been offered to his Majesty's Authority and contrary to the express Articles, Provisoos, and Promises of that Treaty of Peace ; but upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any Peace with those Persons, who were branded with many ignominious Reproaches. Albeit, this Declaration issued (in Point of time) in *Scotland*, after the Excommunication at *James-Town*, yet the Notice of it came so near the Time of the Publication of the other, that the Clergy inserted it in their Declaration, as if it had been one of the principal Causes and Foundations of the Excommunication, and depriving his Majesty of his Authority, and the Affections of all the People, who were concerned in Interest to have the Peace observed (which they looked upon, as the only Foundation of Security for the Nation, and their particular Fortunes) and were willing to hearken to any Councils, which were most like to provide, that the Peace should be made effectual and valid to them.

Conduct of  
the Mar-  
quess on the  
King's forced  
Declara-  
tion.

When the Marquess first heard mention of the Declaration in *Scotland*, he did really believe it a Forgery, contrived either by the *English Rebels*, or the *Irish Congregation*, to seduce the People from their Affection and Loyalty to the King ; but when soon after, he was assured what Condition his Majesty was in, and that in Truth such a Declaration was published in his Name, he immediately issued his Order, for a Meeting of an Assembly at *Loughreagh* on the 15th of *November* ; and in the mean time on the 2d of *October*, for the better composing the Minds of Men, and preventing those Distempers (which might be infused) he wrote to the Commissioners of Trust, and took Notice of that

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Declaration, which was published in *Scotland*, and told them ; " That however the Affronts put upon his Majesty had been many, and were obstinately persisted in to that Day, and in such Places, whereupon evidently depended the Preservation or Loss of the whole Kingdom, whereof he had several Times given Notice unto them, and followed the ways advised by them, for reclaiming the said Places without Success ; yet considering, the Declaration gained from his Majesty was without what could be said by the Nation in their own Defence, and such as involved it, generally without Exception, in the guilt of Rebellion : He thought fit to let them know, that since the said Declaration was by undue Means obtained from his Majesty, he was resolved by all the Means, it should please God to offer to him, and through all Hazards in the behalf of the Nation to insist upon, and assert, the Lawfulness of the Conclusion of that Peace, by Virtue of the aforesaid Authority ; and that the said Peace was still valid and binding unto his Majesty, and all his Subjects : And herein he told them, he was resolved by the Help of God to persist, until both himself, and such as should in that behalf be intrusted and authorized by the Nation, should have free and safe Access to his Majesty ; and until, upon mature and unrestrained Consideration, on what might on all sides be said, his Majesty should have declared his Royal Pleasure upon those Affronts, that had been put upon his Authority ; provided, that upon this Engagement of his, *First*, That all the Acts, Declarations, and Excommunication, issued by the Bishops against his Authority, and the Peoples giving Obedience thereunto, should be by them revoked, and such Assurance given as should be agreed by

*His Letter  
to the Com-  
missioners  
of Trust.*

" him, and the Commissioners of Trust, that they,  
 " nor any of them, should attempt the like for  
 " the Future, and that they should contain them-  
 " selves within the Bounds prescribed by the  
 " Articles of Peace, whereto they were Parties,  
 " *Secondly*, That it should immediately be decla-  
 " red by the Commissioners of Trust, that the said  
 " Declaration, and Excommunication, and other  
 " Proceedings of the said Bishops, was an un-  
 " warrantable Usurpation upon his Majesty's Au-  
 " thority, and in them a Violation of the Peace,  
 " and that in Case, the Bishops should not give  
 " the Assurance before exprest, or having given  
 " it, should not observe the same; that they would  
 " endeavour to bring the Offenders to condign  
 " Punishment, pursuant to, and as is prescribed,  
 " by the Laws of the Kingdom. *Thirdly*, That  
 " the like Declaration should be made, from all  
 " that drew Authority from his Majesty, Civil  
 " or Martial, and by the respective Mayors, Al-  
 " dermen, Common Council-Men, Burgeses, and  
 " other Magistrates in the Corporations of the  
 " Kingdom. *Fourthly*, That the Lord Lieutenant  
 " should be permitted to make his free and safe  
 " Residence in any Place, he should choose with-  
 " in the Limits not possess by the Rebels. *Fifth-*  
 " *ly*, That he should be immediately suffered to  
 " put Garrisons in all such Places, and in such  
 " manner, according to the Articles of Peace, as  
 " he should find necessary for the Defence of the  
 " Kingdom. In the last Place, He wished them,  
 " that some Course might be taken for his Sup-  
 " port in some Proportion answerable to his Place,  
 " yet with regard to the State of the Kingdom,  
 " which last he said he should not propose, but  
 " that he was deprived of all his own Fortunes,  
 " whereupon he had wholly subsisted ever since  
 " his coming into the Kingdom.

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*Answer of  
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missioners.*

The Commissioners of Trust received His Letter with all Demonstration of Respect and Satisfaction, and the very next Day returned him an Answer, in which after they had lamented the issuing out of this Proclamation in *Scotland*; They said, it greatly comforted them to understand, that his Excellency was resolved, through all Hazards, in behalf of the Nation, to insist upon, and to assert the Peace, and persist in so doing, until he or such as should be intrusted and authorized by the Nation, should have free and safe Access to his Majesty, and to those Propositions, which were exprest as necessary Conditions for the Continuance of his Majesty's Authority among them. Which they said they did (notwithstanding the said Declaration) still Embrace and Reverence; beside their general Profession to Act, what lay within their Power, in the ways of his Majesty's Service, and to the Satisfaction of his Lieutenant, they returned these ensuing Answers.

As to the First, Concerning the Revocation of the Acts, Declarations, and Excommunication, issued by the Bishops, and Assurance demanded, that nothing of that kind should be attempted for the Future. They said, "That his Excellency (to whom they had often exprest their Resentment of such their Proceedings) might be confident, they would labour as far as in them lay to see his Majesty satisfied in that particular; and to that End, they would all, or some of them, with his Allowance, as he should think fit, repair to *Gallway*, to treat with the Prelates upon that Subject. Unto the Second they answered, "That albeit they knew, that by the Censures of the Bishops, his Majesty's Authority was invaded, and an unwarranted Government set up contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom; and that they

“ were assured, no Subject could be justly warrant-  
 “ ed to deny Obedience to his Majesty’s Authority  
 “ in his Excellency : Yet being of Opinion, That  
 “ a publick Declaration of that kind in that jun-  
 “ cture of Affairs, ought properly (and would  
 “ with more Countenance and Authority) move  
 “ from an Assembly than from them, and that  
 “ from such publick Declarations at that Time  
 “ from themselves, they should obstruct the way  
 “ to prevail with the Prelates to withdraw those  
 “ Censures or Acts, which was desired by the for-  
 “ mer Proposition ; and likewise endanger the  
 “ Union that was necessary at present, in opposing  
 “ the common Enemy, and prejudice the Hope  
 “ of a more perfect Union for the Future ; where-  
 “ in the Preservation of the Nation would prin-  
 “ cipally consist. , They did therefore humbly be-  
 “ seech his Excellency, to call an Assembly of the  
 “ Nation, from whom such a Declaration as might  
 “ be effectual in that behalf, and might settle  
 “ those Distractions, could only proceed ; yet if in  
 “ the mean time, and before the Meeting of that  
 “ Assembly, those Censures then suspended should  
 “ be revived ; they would endeavour to suppress  
 “ their Influence upon the People by such a De-  
 “ claration, as should become Loyal Subjects, and  
 “ Men intrusted to see all due Obedience paid  
 “ to his Majesty’s Government over the whole  
 Kingdom. To the Third they answered, “ That  
 “ they would at all Times, and in such manner  
 “ as his Excellency should think fit to prescribe,  
 “ invite all his Majesty’s *Roman* Catholick Sub-  
 “ jects to such a Declaration, which yet (until  
 “ they should understand the Clergy’s Sense upon  
 “ the first Proposition) they did humbly represent  
 “ as fit, for a Time to forbear. To the *Fourth*,  
 they answered, “ That whatsoever his Excellency  
 “ should find to be within their Power, and would  
 “ direct

“ direct to be done, concerning his Place of Resi-  
“ dence for his Person, they would readily obey  
“ his Lordship’s Commands therein. *Fifthly*,  
They answered, “ That upon Conference with  
“ his Excellency of the Places fit to be Garrison-  
“ ed, and the Number of Men fit to be put in  
“ them : They would, according to the Articles  
“ of Peace, use their utmost endeavours to have  
“ such Garrisons, so agreed, admitted. And to  
“ the Last, they said, They had at all Times been  
“ ready and willing, that his Excellency’s Charge  
“ should be supported out of the Revenue of the  
“ Kingdom, and that they were now ready to  
“ concur in assigning any of the Dues already ac-  
“ crued, or such as should grow due hereafter,  
“ or to impose any new Allotment upon the Sub-  
“ ject towards his Maintenance.

When the Lord Lieutenant perceived, that the  
Temper of the Commissioners of Trust was so dif-  
ferent from that of the Congregation, and that in  
Truth, they were afflicted and scandalized at the  
Exorbitancy of the other, and that they thought they  
should be able to reduce them from the destructive  
Counsels they were engaged in ; he would not upon  
any Experience or Judgment of his own, restrain  
them from attempting what was not impossible to  
compass, and which many concluded would have  
been compassed, if attempted ; and which, what  
other Effect soever it had, would make it evident,  
that there was not a Concurrence of the Nation in  
those Acts, which were likely to destroy the King-  
dom. And therefore, he willingly consented, that  
the Commissioners should go to *Gallway*, where  
the Committee of the Congregation resided ;  
whereof the Bishop of *Fernes* was one. To whom  
they shewed the Letter received from the Lord  
Lieutenant, and desired them to consider the State  
of the Kingdom ; and to know from them, what  
they

Commissioners of Trust, Expostulate with the Committee of the Congregation of the Prelates.

they conceived remaining, that might tend best to the Preservation of the Nation and themselves: They told them, that no Union could be had for the Preservation of the Nation, without keeping the King's Authority amongst them, for that many of the most considerable would instantly make their Conditions with the Enemy, if the King's Authority were taken away; and that there was no hope of keeping or leaving that Authority, but by revoking the Excommunication and Declaration; for the Lord Lieutenant would not stay to keep it, nor would he leave it; nor the Marquess of *Clandrickard* undergo it: But upon those Terms; Whereupon they used all those Reasons and Arguments, which cannot but occur to all Men, who are not blinded with Passion and Prejudice, to reduce them to such a Retraction, as could only advance the Happiness, or indeed the Subsistence of the Nation.

Their Answer to the Commissioners of Trust.

But the *Roman* Catholick Bishops were inexorable, and instead of abating any of that Fury they had formerly express'd, they added new Contumelies and Reproaches to all the Authority of the King. They said, "They observed by the Lord Lieutenant's Letter, that he informed his Majesty of Disobedience and Affronts, that had been put upon his Authority; and consequently, that he had suggested Matter unto his Majesty, for making that Declaration which had been published in *Scotland*, disowning the Peace; and that they were of Opinion, for ought appeared unto them, that the King had withdrawn his Commission and Authority from the Lord Lieutenant. That in the said Declaration, the *Irish* Nation (as bloody Rebels,) were cast from the Protection of the King's Laws, and Royal Favour; and therefore it might be presumed, that he would not have his Authority kept over such a Nation, to govern them. That they had been

of Opinion, and all their Endeavours had been employed to keep the King's Authority over them ; but when his Majesty throws away the Nation, as Rebels from his Protection, withdrawing his own Authority, they could not understand the Mystery of preserving the same with them, nor how it could be done. That they believed the best remedy (the King's Authority being taken away by that Declaration) of meeting the Inconvenience of the People's closing with the Parliament, is the returning to the Confederacy, as they said was intended by the Nation, in Case of the breach of Peace on his Majesty's Part. This they said would keep an Union among them, if Men would not be precipitously guilty of the breach of the Oath of Association, which Oath by two solemn Orders of two several Assemblies, was to continue binding, if any breach of the Articles of Peace should happen on his Majesty's Part : That the King's Authority and the Lord Lieutenant's Commission being recalled by that Declaration ; they were of Opinion, that the Lord Lieutenant had no Authority to leave, and if they must expose their Lives and Fortunes to the hazard of Fighting, to the making good that Peace, seeing the Danger was alike to defend that, or get a better Peace ; why should they bind themselves within the Limits of those Articles so disowned. And so with several Tautologies urged the Declaration in *Scotland*, as a ground and excuse for all their Proceedings, when what they had done, was before the issuing of any such Declaration. They concluded, " They could not consent with safety of Conscience to the revoking their Declaration and Excommunication, as demanded by the Lord Lieutenant, nor to give Assurance to him, or the Commissioners of Trust, for not attempting the like for the Future. They

They would not make this Declaration in a Case of Conscience, of so vast an Extent and Importance, without setting down their Reasons under their Hands, which it would not be reasonable (for the Doctrines sake) to conceal from the World, that it may better Judge of those Spiritual Guides (for I do heartily wish, that the Conclusions which were made, and the Ruin that followed from thence, may not at any Time reflect, to the Prejudice of more than the particular Persons, who made themselves guilty of that Mass of Mischief, and towards whom I shall not labour in an Apology.)

1. The first Reason was, Because the King's Authority was not in the Lord Lieutenant, nor was then in them (they said) Power to confer a new Authority on him, which would be destructive to the Nation, if it continued in him, and *was like to prove a Preservative*, if in another, and that they said was their Sense, when they declared against the Authority in his Person. So that though they had Presumption to take the King's Authority out of his Lieutenant's Hand, by their Declaration and Excommunication, and to inhibit all Men to submit to it, they had now the Modesty to confess, they had not Power to confer any new Authority on him, their Faculty of destroying, was better than that of preserving.

2. Their Second was, They feared they should lose the few Churches remaining under his Government, as they had lost under him all the Churches of *Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford*, and the rest, in which (they said) they agreed with the *Macabees, Maximus & primus pro sanctitate Timor erat Templi*. By whose ill Government those Cities were lost, appears by what hath been said before, and how well the few that were then left were kept after they had forced the Marquess to depart the King-

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Kingdom, it is too well known unto the World.

3. The third Reason they thought fit to offer, was, because the Lord Lieutenant had declared at *Cork*, that he would maintain, during his Life, the *Protestant* Religion according to the Example of the best reformed Churches, which might be the same with the Covenant for ought they knew, they said they would not expect from him the Defence of the *Catholick* Religion; which was a strange Objection against a Protestant Lieutenant of a Protestant King, under whose Government they pretended to be desirous to live; and whatsoever had been declared by the Lord Lieutenant at *Cork* in that Particular, was before the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, and published and printed, and well known to the Bishops, who after the same, (notwithstanding that Declaration,) with all the Demonstrations of Cheerfulness gave their Consent to that Peace, which they now think fit to break because of that Declaration.

4. The fourth Reason was cast in the same Mould, the Scandal over the World, to make choice of one of a different Religion, especially in *Rome*, where his Holiness expected that a Catholick Government should be placed over them; and they said they did fear the Scourges of War and Plague, that were fallen so heavy upon them, were some Evidence of God's Anger, for putting God's Cause and the Churches under such Hands: Whereas that Trust might have been managed in a Catholick Hand under the King's Authority, which Reason had indeed most Ingenuity in it; and whenever they digested their Malice and their Prejudice in those personal Reproaches and Calumnies which they know to be most untrue. If they had frankly declared and excepted against him for being a Protestant, they had more complied with the Dictates and Integrity of their Hearts; and yet it might appear

appear a very unskilful and imprudent Suggestion, to make the Humour of the Court of *Rome* the Rule of Obedience to their Sovereign, and to discourage of choosing a Person of what Religion they thought fit to be his Vicegerent, as if they thought they not he, were to be consulted; which would admit more Cause of Jealousy of a Protestant King unto his Protestant Subjects, if it were not as much known to them, that the whole Catholick Nobility and Gentry of the Nation were Enemies to those Resolutions which that unhappy Part of the Catholick Bishops did broach and propagate; that new destructive Doctrine, which alone hath reduced that Nation to the Calamities it now undergoes.

5. The fifth Reason was, that they should find no Favour or Countenance, but Reproach and Disgrace, from any Catholick Prince, Church, or Laity while the Marquess governed, when in truth, since that time that their Proceedings have been taken notice of, the *Catholick* Princes have looked upon them as incapable of any Succour or Countenance, and have accordingly left them to the Rage and Rapine of their merciless Persecutors.

Their other Reasons were more vulgar, and too oft before recited; Exceptions to his Person, in respect of the ill Success of his Conduct, and the Prejudice the People had to him in regard of the same; and the two considerable Corporations remaining (which were *Lymerick* and *Galloway*) were at so great distance with the Lord Lieutenant, that they were thought to be resolved to appear (as in their Intentions and Actions they conceived they were) faithful to the Crown, and obedient to the King's Authority, if placed in another Person.

To which Suggestions nothing need be added to what hath been said in this Discourse of the Demeanor of those particular Places; nor can the Observation be avoided, that it was the natural

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Practice of this Congregation to use all their Industry and Artifice to infuse Jealousy and Sedition into the People, Distrust and Obstinacy into the Corporations, and then to urge that Jealousy, Prejudice, and Indisposition of the People and Corporations to countenance any thing that they thought fit to do, or to oppose. They concluded, that the Event of War being uncertain, if the Nation should be reduced into a Condition of agreeing with the Enemy, the Lord Lieutenant would not be a fit Man to agree for the Exercise of their Religion, for their Churches, Altars, or any thing concerning the same: And therefore they said, that the best way that occurred to them in this pressing Exigency for the Union of the Nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the Enemy, was, that the Marquess of *Clanrickard* (in whom, according to the Sense of the Congregation at *Jamestowne*, they desired the King's Authority might be left) might govern the Nation with Consent of all Parties, and the King's Authority be taken from the Lord Lieutenant until an Assembly; and to that End, that a free and lawful Assembly might be made to sit and judge upon the People's Preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the Defence of the Nation, and touching the King's Authority to be kept over them, and the Peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the Association, or any thing else they should find best and most expedient, and unto that they would most willingly submit; for (they said) they never intended to hinder an Assembly, or to give Laws to the People: All that they endeavoured, was, to defend the Altar and Souls entrusted to them; and as they were of Opinion that the Soldiers would follow the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, and the People obey him, so they would contribute their best Endeavours

deavours to that Effect. They farther gave Assurance, that if any free and lawful Assembly, upon due Consideration of their State and Condition, should find it the best way, for their own Safety and Preservation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy, as they intended never, by the Grace of God, to grant away from them by an Affirmative Consent, the Churches (if forced from them they were blameless) so would they not hinder the People from compounding with the Enemy for the Safety of their Lives and Estates, when no way of Defence was appearing, though upon such an Agreement they saw, that they alone should probably be Losers of Lives, Estates, Churches, Altars, Immunities and Liberties; but in such Contracts with the Enemy, if any should happen, (which they wished God would avert) they should pray and conjure the Catholicks of Ireland, that that of *Maccabees* might be recorded of them to future Ages: *Erat pro uxoribus, & filiis, pro fratribus & cognatis minor sollicitudo, maximus vero, & primus, pro sanctitate erat Timor Templi.*

And this was the Answer delivered to the Commissioners of Trust upon the 5th of November 1650, at *Gallway*, by the titular Bishops of *Killalab, Fernes, Kilmedough, Kilfinorah* and *Dromore*, after several and long Conferences with the Commissioners of Trust, who were entrusted by the Nation upon the Proposals made by the Lord Lieutenant, and the before recited Commissioners. At the Conference being likewise *Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Richard Barnwall, Sir Richard Everard, Mr. Richard Beling, Mr. Jeffery Brown, and Dr. Fennell*, all eminent Persons in their Fortunes and Interests, and in the Trust and Confidence of the Confederate Catholicks. I take very much Pleasure in remembering (which makes me say it on all Occasions, to prevent that usual Prejudice which is too frequent-

ly let loose upon whole Nations, Communities and Professions, for the Guilt and Errors of particular Persons, Officers and Professors) that not only the whole Nobility and Gentry of Fortune and Interest, some very few excepted, but many learned and pious Men of the secular and regular Clergy, and even some of their Bishops, did abhor and abominate the Proceedings of this Congregation, and the Doctrine they infused into the People; and the same was disown'd by some of those Bishops who were last mentioned, as being obtruded on them by the major Vote, or done by their Procurator, without their Assent or Knowledge: I say, I take more Pleasure in remembring this, than inserting such incredible Actions, Arguments and Discourses, and making sharp, tho' deserved Reflections on that unhappy, unprelatical, uncatholick Congregation, which can never be look'd upon by the wise Men of any Profession as consisting of Grave, Temperate, or loyal Persons, but as factious, rash, violent and disloyal Men, assembled without Authority, transported with Spleen, Arrogance and Ambition; taking Advantage of the ill Success whereof themselves were guilty, as the Marquess had said in his Letter of the 2d of December, which he sent to the Assembly at Loughreagh when he left the Kingdom; of which Letter, if an exact Copy could have been gotten, this Discourse would have been needless, there being so ample a Vindication of whatsoever was, or could be said against him in the other: Nor can any Man avoid observing, by the express Words of the Conclusion, upon the Reasons in their Conference with the Commissioners, That tho' they seemed to desire that the Marquess of *Clanrickard* (whose Zeal to the Catholick Religion and Interest in the Nation was so notorious and confess'd, that they durst not repine publicly at his known

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Affection and Integrity to the King) might govern the Nation with the Consent of all Parties, and that the King's Authority in the Lord Lieutenant might be left in him ; yet they declared they meant it should only be until an Assembly (which they well knew by the express Terms of the Articles of Peace could be only lawfully convened by the Lord Lieutenant) and then that Assembly should judge of the People's preservation, and to decree and order what should be the best and safest for the Defence of the Nation, the Peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the Association, or any thing else they should find best and most Expedient ; so that they intended no other Honour to the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, than that by his Countenance and Reputation they might persuade the Lord Lieutenant to leave the King's Authority behind him, and that he should call an Assembly, (which they would otherwise do themselves) and which they were sure should be constituted, for the most part, of such Men as would follow their Dictates, by which himself should be divested of that Power, and the King deposed from any farther Dominion over them, when they could persuade any Foreign Prince to take them into his Protection, which Practice they quickly set on Foot afterwards, and for the further Manifestation of their Affection and Loyalty to the King, which they cannot indure should yet be called in Question : It is observable, that those Men who had so often contradicted and controlled the express Acts of every Assembly, that had been convened since the beginning of the Troubles, and now commanded the People under pain of Damnation, not to yield any Obedience to the King's Authority in his Lieutenant, and declared, that they could not with Safety of their Consciences consent to the Propositions which he had lately made for the uniting

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ing of the Nation, in Defence of the Peace so advantageous to their Liberty and Religion, which the Commissioners intrusted by and for the Nation thought so reasonable ; these Men, I say, made no scruple of professing and declaring, that if an Assembly upon due Consideration of their Estate and Condition, should find it the best way for their Safety and Preservation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy (the Rebels of *England*, who had murdered their late Sovereign with those inhumane Circumstances, and profest the Extirpation of their Religion and Nation, and had massacred, and reproachfully executed so many of their Bishops and Clergy in cold Blood) they could not hinder the People from compounding with them, for the Safety of their Lives and Estates ; which being seriously considered, we cannot sufficiently wonder at the strange stupid Resignation of their Understandings, who believed, or rather at the wonderful Contempt of those Understandings, in those who could perswade them to believe, that this Congregation had Loyal Purposes toward the King, or that they never intended to hinder the Assembly, or give Law to the People, when they cancelled all fundamental Laws, broke through all Acts of their own Assembly, and forbad the People to pay any Obedience to the King's Lieutenant, who had only the lawful Power of Government over them. The more extravagant and unreasonable these Proceedings were of the Congregation and Clergy, the more confident many honest and wise Men were, that an Assembly of the Nation would regulate and controul that unlimited Power, and utterly disavow all that they had done : And therefore, they that were exceedingly offended and intraged against the Congregation, were as solicitous and importunate with the Lord Lieutenant to call an Assembly, and though he

Lord Lieu-  
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had too much Experience of the Nature and Temper of the People, and of the Transcendent Power the Clergy would still have over any Assembly (or at least over the People, when the Assembly had done what it could) to hope for any good Effect from it ; though he saw he should thereby the more expose his own Honour, and (which he considered much more) the Dignity of his Master to new Insolencies, yet since he resolved to leave the Kingdom himself, and was unresolved whether he should leave the King's Authority behind him liable to the same Indignities and Affronts in the Person of the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, which it had been subject to in his own, and could have no kind of Assurance, that it should not, but by the Profession and Protestation of an assembly, he did resolve to call one, and issued out his Letters to that Purpose for meeting the 15th of November at *Loghreagh*, where they met accordingly, and the Bishops, for removing (as they said) of any Jealousies, that any might apprehend of their Proceedings declared and protested, *That by their Excommunication and Declaration at James-Town in August last, they had no other aim than the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, and the People, and they did not purpose to make any Usurpation on his Majesty's Authority, nor on the Liberty of the People ; confessing, That it did not belong to their Jurisdiction so to do ; with which Protestation (so contrary to what they had done, and which in Truth they had so often made ; when even at the same Time they did all Things contrary to it) the Assembly was satisfied, and did not so much as make another Protestation, that the Bishops had done what they ought not to do, nor exacted a Promise from them, that they would not do the like in time to come. So That the Lord Lieutenant was resolved to look no more for Satisfaction from them, nor expose the King's Authority*

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thority further by leaving any Deputy behind him, but prepared the best he could to depart the Kingdom, a small Frigate attending for that Service.

When the Assembly understood his Resolution, and saw plainly that he was ready to depart, his Goods and many of his Servants being on Board, they sent four of the Members of their House to him, with an Instrument in Writing, in which they repeated the Declaration and Protestation made by the Bishops mentioned before, upon Consideration of which, and their Professions to that Purpose in the Assembly, and of his Excellency's Letter dated the 16th of November last, recommending to them as the chief End, for which the Assembly was called, the removing of all Divisions as the best Way to their Preservation; they said, that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Gentry met in that Assembly, conceived, That there was not a better Foundation or Ground for their Union, than their holding to, and obeying his Majesty's Authority to which they owned, and thought to pay all dutiful obedience; and they did thereby declare and protest, that their Allegiance unto his Majesty's Authority was such, and so inherent in them, that they could not be withdrawn from the same; nor was there any power in the Lords Spiritual or Temporal, Gentry or People, Clergy or Laity of the Kingdom, that could alter or change, or take away his Majesty's Authority; they holding that to be the chiefest Flower of the Crown, and the Support of the People's Liberties, which they did thereby Declare, Protest and Avow, and that they did Esteem the same, and Obedience thereunto, essentially, inviolably and justly due from them, and the chiefest means under God to uphold their Union and Preservation; and they said they did unanimously beseech his Excellency, in his great Affection to the advancement of his Majesty's Service, and his hearty desires of the Nation's Preservation, to which they said, he had relation

Letter  
from the  
Assembly to  
the Lord  
Lieutenant  
on that Re-  
solution.

of highest Concernment in Blood, Alliance and Interest to leave that Authority with them, in some Person faithful to his Majesty and acceptable to the Nation; to which Person, when he should be made known unto them, they would not only afford all due Obedience, but would also offer and propose the best Ways and Means, that God would please to direct them to, for the Preservation of his Majesty's Rights, and the Peoples Interest, and Liberty, and for the begetting a ready Obedience in all Places and Persons unto his Majesty's Authority.

This Advice, though it carried with it a particular Respect from the Assembly to the Lord Lieutenant, and an Acknowledgment of the faithful and hearty Affection, he had always for his Majesty's Interest and Service in that Kingdom, contrary to that scandalous Declaration, gave not the Marquess the least Confidence, that his Majesty's Authority, would find more respect in the Person of another, than it had met with in him; therefore he wrote to them by the same Messenger.

Lord Lieutenant's  
Answer

That he had sent the Authority to the Lord Marquess of Clanrickard to govern that his Majesty's Kingdom and People; provided, that the Declaration might be so far explained as to give the Marquess of Clanrickard full Satisfaction, that the Expression they made, touching the Obedience they owed, and resolved to pay unto his Majesty's Authority, was meant the Authority placed in his Lordship, or any other Governour deriving or holding his Authority from his Majesty. And that they esteemed it not in the Power of any Person, Congregation, or Assembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the People free from obeying his Lordship, or any other such Governour, during the Continuance of the said Authority in him, without which (he said) he could not (in Duty to his Majesty, leave the Authority subject to be tossed to and fro at the uncertain fancy of any Man or Men, without any Probability of saving the Nation, which could no otherwise be effected, than by an absolute chearful Obedi-

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ence in the People, unto the Authority placed over them, &c. And so having directed the Marquess of *Clanrickard* (who submitted to the Charge out of pure Obedience, and only that he might no decline what, they would say, might have preserved the Nation) not so assume the Charge unless the Assembly gave him full satisfaction in the Particulars required by him, — The Lord Lieutenant about the middle of *December*, 1650. imbarqued himself in a small Vessel for *France*, after he had refused to receive a Pass from *Ireton*, who offered it; choosing rather to trust the Seas and Winds in that rough and boistrous Season of the Year, than to receive an Obligation from the Rebels; and so having been tossed at Sea, for the space of some Weeks, and his other Ships, in which his Servants and Goods, and many other Persons perished, being lost in the Storm, himself arrived in *France*.

He Deputes  
the Mar-  
quess of  
*Clanrick-*  
*kard*.

Leaves  
Ireland.

And Lands  
in France,

If the end of this Discourse were only to vindicate the Marquess of *Ormond*, from those loose Reproaches and groundless Calumnies with which bold Writers have endeavoured to asperse him; it might be very well concluded hereafter, it hath clearly instanced the insupportable Wants, Weaknesses and Distractions he was to struggle with, even from the first Minute of the Conclusion of Peace, and when he seemed to be attended with the most Success, and so fully in Power. The vast Supplies, Wealth, Power, and (which makes the rest Superior to the greatest and most difficult Designs) the Union of the most prosperous Rebels; and on the other side, the Weakness, Poverty and Unskilfulness of the *Irish*, their want of Money, of Arms, Victuals, Officers, and of Discipline, which would make any Plenty unsuccessful; the abundant want of Union, Direction and Obedience to the Superior Commander; the Rebellion of the incorporate Towns against all Commands,

and Orders of the King's Lieutenant ; and lastly, The Extravagant and Unlimited Power of the most illiterate, and worst affected Party of the Clergy over the Consciences and Understanding of the People : I say, all these Particulars being so undeniably evinced, the World (at least the sober part of it) will be very easily satisfied, That the Marquess of *Ormond* discharged the Office of a wise, vigilant, and excellent Commander, with the greatest Constancy, Courage and Integrity imaginable, and that none of the Calamities under which that unhappy Nation lies at present oppressed and broken, can be put upon his Account : But since there was, and is still, so much Profession of Duty and Obedience to the King's Authority, and all the Miscarriages and Misfortunes imputed to the Prejudice, that attended the Person of the Marquess of *Ormond* ; and that the Prejudice to his Person proceeded from his Religion, being no *Roman Catholick*. It will not be an impertinent or unprofitable expence of Time, to take a view of the ways, which were taken to preserve the Nation, to advance the King's Service, and the Obedience that was paid to his Majesty's Authority, after it was placed in the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, whose Zeal and Devotion to the *Roman Catholick Religion*, hath been always as eminent and unquestionable, as his Loyalty and Integrity to the King, and whose being a *Catholick*, hath not been able to shelter him from the Virulence of those Tongues, which have endeavoured to wound and deprave the most clear, great, and excellent Persons. The very same Tongues and Pens having with equal Licence and Malice, and with the same Calumnies aspersed the one and the other ; so that in Truth, Religion will be found to have the least influence upon the Hearts of those, who have so often mentioned it, as their only

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Motive to those unlawful Actions, which are not consistent with any Religion.

The Lord Lieutenant was no sooner under Sail, than the Assembly applyed themselves to the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, who was then at his House at *Logbreagh*, and besought him to assume the Government of the Kingdom, as Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, according to the Power left with him by the Lord Lieutenant. But the Marquess absolutely refused to do it, except they satisfied the Provisoers in the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to them, and that he saw such an Union among them, as might free the King's Authority from the Affronts it had been exposed unto; hereupon the Assembly unanimously professed all Obedience to his Majesty's Authority, as it was vested in him, and petitioned him to assume it, without which they said the Nation would be exposed to utter Ruin; and the Bishop of *Fernes* more particularly importuned him in the Name of the Clergy, *not to decline a Charge which could only preserve the King's Power in that Kingdom, and the Nation from Destruction, and promised so entire a Submission and Co-operation from the whole Clergy, that his Authority should not be disputed.*

*Marquess of Clanrickard intreated to accept the Government.*

There was then in the Possession of the *Roman Catholicks* the Province of *Connaght*, in which they had the strong Castle of *Athlone*, and the strong and important Town and Harbour of *Gallway*, and many other lesser Forts and Places of Strength, a good Part of the Province of *Munster*, and in it the City of *Lymerick*, which by the strong Situation of it, and the Advantages it might have from the Sea, could alone (with the Help and Assistance of *Gallway*) have maintained a War against the Rebels Forces in *Ireland*; they had many Parties of Horse and Foot in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Ulster*, which being drawn together, would constitute a better

*Condition of the Irish at that Time.*

better Army than the Rebels were in Truth Masters of: So the *Marquess* had Argument enough to hope, if he could be confident of the Union of the Nation, and he might reasonably promise himself an Union of the Nation, if he could be confident of the Affections and Integrity of the Clergy; and they did now promise with that Solemnity, that if he would not be confident of them, the Fault would be imputed to him, for they could do no more on their Parts, to create a Belief in him: He was therefore contented to take the Charge upon him, and obliged them presently to consider of the Way to keep all the Forces, when he should have drawn them together, and to secure the Towns of *Lymerick* and *Gallway* with strong Garrisons, which was the first work concluded on, on all Hands necessary to be performed.

*Their Behaviour to the Lord Deputy.*

Very few Days had pass'd, after the Lord Deputy had upon such their Importunity and Profections, taken the Government upon him, when it was proposed in the Assembly (before their Condition was impaired by any further Progress, or new Success of the Rebels) that they might send to the Rebels to *treat with them, upon surrendering all that was left in their Hands*, and when the same was opposed with Indignation by the major-Part of the Assembly, the Bishop of *Fernes* himself, who had so newly importuned the Lord Deputy to assume the Charge, and made such ample Promises in the Name of the Clergy, seemed to concur with those who were against treating with the Enemy, but instead of it very earnestly press'd; that they might in order to their better Defence, return to their ancient Confederacy, and so proceed in their Preservation without any respect to the King's Authority; and this Motion found such a concurrence in the Assembly from most of the Bishops and Clergy, and many others, that the Officers of the Army, the

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principal of the Nobility and Gentry, found it necessary to express more than ordinary Passion in their Contradiction; they told them, *they now manifested, that it was not their Prejudice to the Marquess of Ormond, nor their Zeal to Religion that had transported them, but their dislike of the King's Authority, and their Resolution to withdraw themselves from it; that they themselves would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost hazard, as long as they should be able, and when they should be reduced to that Extremity, that treating with the Rebels could be no longer deferred, they would in that Treaty make no Provision for them: but be contented, that they should be excluded from any Benefit thereof, who were so forward to exclude the King's Authority.* Upon these bold, but necessary Menaces (to which they had not been accustomed) the Clergy and their Party seemed to acquiesce, and promised all Concurrence; but from this very Time, all the Factions and Jealousies which had been before amongst them were revived.

The *Irish* in all Quarters, of which the Rebels were possess'd, not only submitted and compounded, but very many of them entred into their Service, and marched with them in their Army; and the Lord Deputy grew as much in their Disfavour, as the Lord Lieutenant had been, and his being a Friend to the Marquess of *Ormond*, destroyed all that Confidence, which his being a *Roman Catholick* had merited from them.

Notwithstanding all these Discouragements, some whereof he expected not, the Deputy issued out his Orders to all the Forces, which for conveniency of Quarter, and the more to infest the Rebels, were scattered over the Province, that they should meet at the general Rendezvous at the Time and Place appointed; resolving with as much Expedition as he could to ingage the Enemy, which

*The Bishops smartly reprehended.*

*Several Irish desert to the Rebels.*

*Lord Deputy appoints a Rendezvous.*

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Resolves to  
fight Ire-  
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in Truth, (with putting in so many Soldiers in-  
to those Towns and Places of Strength, which had  
been delivered to them, and with Sickness) was  
now much weakened, and he did once draw to-  
gether a greater Body of Horse and Foot, than all  
the Forces that the Rebels could bring would con-  
sist of, and hearing that *Iretton* (who then com-  
manded in Chief for the Rebels in the Kingdom)  
marched towards *Athlone*, he made all possible haste  
to incounter him, but after he had gone two Days  
march towards the Place, he received Intelligence  
that the Rebels, being furnished with all necessa-  
ry Guides, and having much better Informati-  
on of all he did from the *Irish*, than the Deputy  
could procure) were marched over the Mountains  
towards *Gallway*. Upon which Advertisement, he  
made what haste he could the same Way he came,  
and sent orders to the Earl of *Castle-haven*, Gene-  
ral of the Horse, to meet him with the Forces  
under his Command, at a Village where the De-  
puty expected the Rebels, being then within less  
than a Mile with their main Body, and only a nar-  
row Pass between them, which the Deputy made  
little Doubt of defending, until all his Forces  
would come up, and then resolved to fight them,  
which was the only Thing he desired, and believed  
himself to be in a very good Posture so to do. When  
the Earl of *Castle-haven* received his Orders to  
march, he took special Care to leave a single Pass  
(by which the Rebels might possibly get over the  
River of *Shannon*) well guarded, that so they might  
be intirely engaged at the Place, where the De-  
puty was without any Danger in their Rear, he  
did not think the guarding of the Place of any  
Difficulty, where there was an old strong Castle  
that stood even into the River, and in the Mouth  
of the Pass, and against which the Rebels could  
not plant any Ordnance to annoy it, and in this  
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Castle he left Threescore Musketeers, and withal Two Troops of Horse, which was strong enough to have kept the strongest and best furnished Army from Landing on that side:

The Earl had not been marched above Three Hours, when upon the rising of a Hill he heard the Report of a few Muskets, and looking behind him, he saw the Two Troops of Horse, which he had left to guard the Pass, running and dispersing with all imaginable Confusion, and without being pursued by any Man; the Rebels having (it seemed) excellent and speedy Intelligence of the Earl's March, sent over two or three Boats of Muskeeters from the other side of the River, who without the least Opposition, or having one Man hurt, landed at the Castle, which the Horse and Foot abandoned and left to their Possession; so that 'twas then in their Power to draw over as many as they would of their Army. As soon as the News was heard amongst those who marched with the Earl, without any respect to his Person, command or intreaty, or without the least sight of an Enemy, or indeed Possibility of being pursued (for there was yet only a few Foot landed on that side the River, and their bringing over Horse would take up much Time) they fled, dispersed, and disbanded, insomuch that of Four Thousand, which in the Morning the Body consisted of, the Earl brought not with him to the Place where the Lord Deputy was above Forty Horse; so the Deputy easily saw he was in no Case to engage the Rebels, that he should be quickly attacked in the Rear, by that Part of the Army which had already, and would speedily pass the River, and that the same fright possessed his Men, who had hitherto kept the Bridge, and who now began to yield Ground, that in Truth very many of his Soldiers had that Night run away both Horse and Foot, when they had gotten out

*Shameful  
Cowardice  
of the I-  
rish Troops*

out of the Danger of the Enemies pursuit, dispersing themselves, and from this Time the Deputy could never draw any considerable and firm Body into the Field, nor make any Opposition to the Progress of the Rebels; the *Irish* in all places submitting and compounding with them, murmuring as much against the Lord Deputy, as they had done before against the Lord Lieutenant.

Lord  
Taaffe's  
Negotiation  
with the  
Duke of  
Lorraine.

Before the Lord Lieutenant left the Kingdom, he had sent the Lord Viscount *Taaffe*, (who had been an Eye-witness of all his Proceedings, and had in vain laboured to compose and dispose the Minds of the Clergy to the King's Service) to give the King an Account of his Affairs; and how impossible it would be to preserve his Authority in that Kingdom, without more than ordinary Supplies from Abroad; his Lordship landed in *Flanders*, the King being then in *Scotland*, and quickly understood, how unlikely his Journey into that Kingdom was to advance the Business for which he came, or indeed that he should be admitted to the Presence of the King, from whom most were removed that attended him thither, and hereupon he stayed in *Flanders*, and found an Opportunity to represent the condition of the Catholics of *Ireland*, in such manner to the Duke of *Lorraine* (who being nearly allied to the King, always professed singular Affection to his Majesty and his Interest) that in the end he prevailed with him to send some Relief, and as soon as it was known, that the Lord Lieutenant was landed in *France*, the Duke sent a Person of principal Trust about him (the Abbot of *St. Katherine's*, to *Ireland* with a Credential, as his Ambassador to the Clergy, and the Catholick Nobility, and Gentry in that Kingdom, to treat with them in order to the receiving Aid and Support from the Duke; and to the end, that his Highness might in Truth

Who sends  
an Amba-  
sador to  
Ireland.

under-

understand in what Capacity they were to be received, and how they could themselves contribute thereunto; it not being then known, that the Marquess of *Ormond* had left the King's Authority behind him; but rather conceived, that upon those many Provocations and Affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn with his person, the Countenance and Authority they had so much under-valued, and so little deserved.

When the Abbot landed in *Ireland*, (which was about the end of *February*, and within little more than two Months after the Lord Lieutenant was departed thence,) he heard that the Marquess of *Clanrickard* was the King's Deputy, and therefore he gave him present Notice of his Arrival, addressed himself to him, shewed his Commission and Credentials; and assured him, that the Duke his Master had so great an Affection to the King of England (the Preservation of whose Interest in that Kingdom was the chief Motive to him, to offer his Assistance) That if he had known any Person, had been intrusted there with his Majesty's Authority, he would have addressed himself to him, and to no other. And he finding his Lordship invested with that Power, did, what he knew his Master expected at his Hand, apply himself unto him, with, and by whose Direction he would alone steer himself through that Negotiation. He told him, the Duke had already disbursed 6000 Pistoles, for the supplying them with those Things, he heard they stood most in need of, which were brought over by a Religious Person, who came with him, and that he was ready to be informed, of what they would desire from his Highness, that might enable them to resist the Enemy, and that he would Consent to any Thing, that was reasonable for him to undertake.

Hereupon the Lord Deputy appointed a Committee of the Commissioners of Trust, together with some Prelates, to confer with the Ambassador, him.

Ambassador from Lorrain applied to the Lord Deputy.

Lord Deputy appoints Commissioners to confer with him.

*Their unfair Negotiation.*

dor, to receive Overtures from him, and to present them unto him with their Advice thereupon : They met accordingly, and received the Propositions from the Ambassador, such as were so unagreeable to the Profession he had made of Respect to the King, and indeed so inconsistent with the King's Honour and Interest ; that they proceeded rather from the Encouragement and Contrivance of the *Irish*, than from his own Temper and Disposition, and this was the more believed, when instead of returning the Propositions to the *Lord Deputy*, they kept the same in their own Hands, put out some of those, who were appointed by him to be of the Committee, and chose others in their Places, and proceeded in the Treaty, without giving the *Deputy* an Account of what was demanded by the Ambassador, or what they thought fit to offer to him ; of all which the *Deputy* took notice, and thereupon forbid them to proceed any further in that way, and restrained them unto certain Articles, which he sent them which contained what he thought fit to offer to the Ambassador, and gave them Power only to treat ; but notwithstanding his positive Directions they proceeded in their Treaty with the Ambassador, and sent Advice to the *Deputy* to consent unto the Articles proposed by him ; since (they said) he would not recede from what he had proposed, and that it was much better to submit to the same, than that the Treaty should be broken off.

The Deputy as positively declared, That what was demanded was so derogatory to the Honour of the King his Master, and destructive to his Interest, that he would never agree to it, and resolved presently to leave the Town : And when the Ambassador sent to him to desire to see him, and to take his leave of him, he absolutely refused

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and sent him Word, That he would never pay his *Message*  
*Civility* to, or receive it from a Person, who had so *from the*  
much swerved from the Propositions made by himself, *Lord De-*  
and who had presumed to make Propositions so dis- *puty to the*  
honourable to the King his Master, and (he believed) *Ambassa-*  
so contrary to the good Pleasure of the Duke of *dor.*  
Lorrain, and that he would send away an Express  
to the Duke, to inform him of his Miscarriage, and  
he presumed, he would do Justice unto the King upon  
him.

When the Prelates saw that no Obstinacy in *The Am-*  
the Ambassador, nor Importunity from them could *bassador*  
prevail with the Lord Deputy, they, to shew what *recedes*  
influence they had upon that Treaty, perswaded *from his*  
the Ambassador to the same Propositions, which *Demands.*  
he had formerly (no doubt by the same Advice) *Lord De-*  
rejected, and thereupon to make the Sum for- *puty sends*  
merly disbursed by the Duke at his coming out *two Gen-*  
of Flanders full 20000 l. and the Lord Deputy *tlemen to*  
sent a couple of Gentlemen into Flanders, to *treat fur-*  
treat further with the Duke of Lorrain, accord- *ther with*  
ing to such Commissions and Instructions as he *the Duke*  
gave them, who arrived in those Parts about the *of Lor-*  
Month of July following. The Bishop of Fernes *rain, viz.*  
about the same Time left Ireland, and came like- *Sir Nicho-*  
wise to Brussels, and having (without the Privy *las Plun-*  
of the Lord Deputy) received some secret Trust *ket, and*  
and Delegation from the Prelates of Ireland, and *Jeffery*  
Credit from them to the Duke of Lorrain, he *Brown,*  
quickly interested himself in that Treaty, and took *Esq;*  
upon him the greatest Part in it, and that which  
he said was the Sense of the Nation: He reproach-  
ed the Persons imployed and trusted by the De-  
puty, with all the Proceedings which had been  
in Ireland by the Consent of the Confederate Ca-  
tholicks: inveighed against their opposing the  
Pope's Nuncio, and appealing against the Excom-  
munication issued out by him; he told them (and  
all

*Carriage*  
*of the Bi-*  
*shop of*  
*Fernes.*

all this by a Letter under his Hand) That he was clearly of Opinion, that the Excommunication was of Force, and that the greatest States-men, Soldiers, Citizens, and People disobeying, and now obstinate, are, and were delivered to Satan, and therefore forsaken of God, and unworthy of Victory, and his Holy Blessing; and thereupon he said, he did with all Sincerity offer his own humble Opinion, what was to be done by them, which was to the end the Agreement, they were making with his Highness the Duke of Lorraine, might become profitable to the Nation, and acceptable in the Eyes of God. That they would immediately with humble Hearts, make a Submission to his Holiness in the Name of the Nation, and beg the Apostolical Benediction. That the Light of Wisdom, the Spirit of Fortitude, Virtue, Grace, Success, and the Blessing of God, might return again to them. He told them the Necessity of doing this was the greater, for that the Person from whom they came with Authority (the Marquess of Clanrickard the Lord Deputy) was for several Causes excommunicated a Jure & Homine, and that he was at Rome reputed the Contemner of the Authority and Dignity of Church-men, and a Persecutor of the Lord Nuncio, and some Bishops, and other Church-men; and after many rude and bitter Reproaches against the Deputy, he said these Words, Do you think God will prosper a contract grounded upon the Authority of such a Man, and shortly after he said, that if the Duke of Lorraine were rightly informed of the Business, he would never enter upon a Bargain to preserve, or rather restore Holy Religion in the Kingdom, with Agents bringing their Authority from a cursed withered Hand; and then concluded with these Words, As for my Part upon the denial to hear my humble Prayers, which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw my self as a Man, despairing of any Fruit to come from an unsound Trunk, where

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there is no sap of Grace, and am resolved to communicate no more with you in that Affair, but rather to let the Prince know, he is building his Resolution of doing good upon an unhallowed Foundation. And that God therefore (unless himself would undertake to get an Absolution for the Nation) will not give him the Grace to lay down the lapis angularis of his own House again in that Kingdom. This Letter bore date at *Bruxels* on the 20th of July, 1651. The Persons to whom it was directed being then in the same Town; what the Issue of the Treaty was, and what Regard was had to the King's Honour, and Interest, I shall not mention in this Place, the Articles being made Publick to the World; but shall only insert the Letter, which the Lord Deputy wrote to the Duke of *Lorrain*, in Answer to one he had receiv'd from his Highness, and after he knew what Transaction had been made with him; the Letter was dated the 20th of *October*, 1651. in these Words,

*May it please your Highness,*

I Had the Honour, the 12th of this Instant, to receive a Letter from your Highness, dated the 10th *September*, wherein you are pleased to express your great Zeal for the Advancement of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, your great Affection to the King my Master, and your good Opinion of this Nation, and Compassion of their Sufferings, and your great Readiness to afford them Aid and Assistance, even equal with your own Interest and Concernment; and that your Highness received such Satisfaction from the *Queen* and Duke of *York*, as did much strengthen those Resolutions, so as they might sooner have appeared, but for the stay made here by Monsieur *St. Katherine*, and his

Letter  
from the  
Lord Deputy  
to the  
Duke of  
Lorrain.

" large Northern Voyage upon his return ; and  
 " referred what concerned the Agreement to the  
 " Relation of those Commissioners I had imployed  
 " to your Highness to treat upon that Subject of  
 " Assistance, and Relief for this Kingdom. I do  
 " with much Alacrity congratulate your Highness  
 " pious Intentions for the Preservation of the  
 " *Catholick Religion*, your great and princely Care  
 " to recover his Majesty's Rights and Interests  
 " from the Rebel Subjects of *England*, and the  
 " high Obligation you put upon this Nation by  
 " your tender Regard of them, and desire to re-  
 " deem them from the great Miseries and Afflic-  
 " tions they have endured, and the imminent Dan-  
 " ger they are in ; and it shall be a principal Part  
 " of my Ambition, to be an useful Instrument to  
 " serve your Highness, in so famous and glorious  
 " an Enterprize ; and that I may be the more ca-  
 " pable, to contribute somewhat to so religious  
 " and just Ends.

" First, in discharge of my Conscience towards  
 " God, my Duty to the King my Master, to disa-  
 " buse your Highness, and give you a perfect and  
 " clear Information, so far as comes to my Know-  
 " ledge, I am obliged to represent to your High-  
 " ness : That by the Title of that Agreement,  
 " and Articles therein contained, made by those  
 " Commissioners imployed to your Highness, and  
 " but lately come unto my Hands ; they have  
 " violated the Trust reposed in them, by having  
 " cast off and declined the Commission and Intru-  
 " ction they had from me in the King my Master's  
 " behalf, and all other Powers that could by any  
 " other Means be derived from him, and pretend to  
 " make an Agreement with your Highness in the  
 " Name of the Kingdom and People of *Ireland*, for  
 " which they had not, nor could have any warrant-  
 " ble Authority, and have abused your Highness by

a counterfeit shew of a private Instrument, fraudulently procured and signed (as I am informed) by some inconsiderable and factious Persons, ill affected to his Majesty's Authority, without any Consent or Knowledge of the generality of the Nation, or Persons of greatest Quality and Interest therein, and who under a seeming Zeal, and Pretence of Service and Affection to your Highness, labour more to satisfy their private Ambitions, than the Advantage of Religion or the Nation, or the prosperous Success of your Highnesses generous Undertaking.

“ And to manifest the clearness of my own Proceedings, and to make such deceitful Practices more apparent. I send your Highness herewith an Authentick Copy of my Instructions, which accompanied their Commission when I employed them to your Highness, as a sufficient Evidence to convince them ; and having thus manifested their breach of publick Trust, I am obliged in the King my Master's Name, to protest against their unwarrantable Proceedings, and to declare all other Agreements and Acts whatsoever concluded by those Commissioners, to be void and illegal, not being derived from, or consonant to his Majesty's Authority : Being in Duty obliged thus far to vindicate the King my Master's Honour and Authority, and to preserve his just and undoubted Rights from such deceitful and rebellious Practices ; as likewise with an humble respective Care to prevent those Prejudices that might befall your Highness, in being deluded by counterfeit Shews of doing you greater Honour, than it is apparent can arise from any Undertaking, laid upon such false and ill-grounded Principles, as have been smoothly digested and fixed upon the Nation, as their Desire and Request, and must overthrow all those Heroick

" and Princely Acts, your Highness hath pro-  
 " posed to your self for God's Glory and Ser-  
 " vice, the Restauration of oppressed Majesty, and  
 " the Relief of this distressed Kingdom, which  
 " would at least fall into intestine Broyls and Di-  
 " visions, if not forcibly driven into Desperation,  
 " I shall now with a hopeful, chearful, Importu-  
 " nity, upon a clear Score (free from those De-  
 " ceits) not only propose unto your Highness;  
 " that for the Advancement of all those great  
 " Ends you aimed at (in the King my Master's  
 " Name, in the Name of all the Loyal Catholick  
 " Subjects of this Nation, and for the Preservati-  
 " on of those important cautionary Places, that are  
 " Security for your Highnesses past, and present  
 " Disbursements) you will be pleased to quicken,  
 " and hasten those Aids and Assistance, you in-  
 " tended for the Relief of *Ireland*. And I have  
 " with my whole Power, and through greatest  
 " Hazards strove to defend them for you, and to  
 " preserve all other Parts, that may at all Times  
 " be of Advantage, and a Safeguard to your Fleets  
 " and Men of War, having yet many good Har-  
 " bours left. But do also engage in the King  
 " my Master's Name, whatsoever may prove to  
 " your Satisfaction, that is any way consistent with  
 " his Honour and Authority, and have made my  
 " humble Application to the Queen's Majesty, and  
 " my Lord Lieutenant (the King being at that  
 " Time in *Scotland*) further to agree, confirm and  
 " secure, whatsoever may be of Advantage to your  
 " Highness, and if the last Galiot had brought  
 " us 10000 *l.* for this instant Time, it would have  
 " contributed more to the Recovery of this King-  
 " dom, than far greater Sums delayed, by enabling  
 " our Forces to meet together for the Relief of  
 " *Lymerick*, which cannot but be in great Distress,  
 " after so long a Siege, which if lost (tho' I shall

endea

endeavour to prevent it) will cost much Treasure to regain it; and if your Highness shall be pleased to go on chearfully, freely, and seasonably with this great Work, I make no Question, but God will give so great a Blessing, as You, my Self, and all the Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, may soon and justly proclaim and leave Recorded to Posterity, *That your Highness was the great and glorious Restorer of our Religion, Monarchy and Nation.*

And that your Highness, may not be discouraged, or diverted from this generous Enterprize, by the malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is necessary Duty in me to represent to your Highness, that the Bishop of *Fernes* (who as I am informed) hath gained some Interest in your Favour, is a Person that ever hath been violent against, and malicious to his Majesty's Authority and Government, and a fatal Instrument in contriving and fomenting all those divisions and differences, that have rent in sunder this Kingdom; the Introduction to our present Miseries, and weak Condition; and that your Highness may thereby know his Disposition, I send herewith a Copy of part of a Letter written by him, directed to the Lord *Taafe*, Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, and Mr. *Jeffery Brown* (which was part of that Letter mentioned before) and humbly submit it to your Judgment; whether these Expressions be agreeable to the Apostolical Spirit, and (considering whose Person and Authority I represent) what ought to be the Reward of such a Crime: I must therefore desire your Highness, in the King my Master's Behalf, that he may not be countenanced, or intrusted in any Affairs, that have relation to his Majesty's Interest in this Kingdom, where I have constantly endeavoured by all possible Service, to deserve your Highnesses good Opinion, and obtain that

" Favour to be a most faithful Acknowledger of  
" it in the Capacity, and under the Title of,

*Your Highness's,*

*Athenree, 10th.*

*Octob. 1651.*

*Most Humble and*

*Obedient Servant.*

*Clanrickard.*

*Disobedi-  
ence of  
Lymer-  
rick and  
Gallway  
to the Lord  
Deputy.*

It cannot be doubted, but what this eminent Catholick Lord (who for Loyalty and Religion hath been, and is dispoiled of as great a Fortune, as Subjects enjoy in any Kingdom) hath said concerning that Treaty, will find more Credit with the World, than any thing the Bishop of *Fernes*, or any obscure loose Fryar can publish in the bitterness of their Spirit, who too much declare that Irreverence they bear towards his Majesty, by their rudeness to those who are intrusted to govern them, and the contempt they have of all the Laws, which are to restrain and contain them within the Rules of Obedience. One of the principal Motives which induced the Marquess to submit to that great Charge, and to undertake a Province, which he knew would be very burthensome and grievous in several Respects; was the joint Promise that the City of *Lymerick*, and Town of *Gallway* would pay all imaginable Duty to him; the Clergy obliged themselves in that Particular with all Confidence, and the Deputies of the Place promised all that could be desired, but when the Lord Deputy found it necessary to settle that Business, they would neither receive a Governor or Garrison from him, and when he offered himself to stay in *Lymerick* (when *Ireton* was drawing before it) and to run the same For-

tune

tune with them, they refused it as peremptorily as they had done to the Lord Lieutenant. It is true, both *Lymerick* and *Gallway* were content to receive Soldiers, but they must be such only as were of their own choosing, not such either in Number or Quality, as the Deputy would have sent to them, or as were necessary for their Security; they chose likewise their own Governor, or rather kept the Government themselves, and gave the Title to one whom they thought least likely to contradict them; and in a Word, behaved themselves like two Common-wealths, and obeyed the Deputy no farther than they were inclined to by their own Conveniency; they who compounded with the Enemy in the Country, corresponded with them in the Town, and thereby gave the Enemy Intelligence of all that past. Wonderful Diligence was used to make it thought, that the *Independents* were not uncharitable unto Catholics, and that they wished not any Compulsion should be used in Matters of Religion; and when the Acts of Cruelty and Blood, of putting their Priests and Prelates to an ignominious Death (of which there were new Instances every Day) were mentioned, it was answered, those Proceedings were carried on by the *Presbyterians*, very much against the Nature and Principles of the other Party,

This License of Communication, and the evil Consequences that must attend it, were enough understood by the Lord Deputy; but could be no more prevented, reformed or punished, than he could infuse a new Heart or Spirit into the People: One Instance will serve the turn; there was one Fryar *Anthony Gaughagan* in the Town, who had always adhered to the Nuncio; and opposed the King's Authority to the utmost of his Power. Several Letters written by him into the Rebels

Irish correspond with the English Rebels.

The Lord Deputy unable to prevent this Correspondence.

Instanced in Fryar Anthony.

Rebels Quarters, were intercepted and brought to the Deputy, in which though there were many Things in Cypher, there appeared much of the present State and Condition of the Town, and in one of them, dated the 14th February, 1651. was this Passage, *If the Service of God had been as deep in the Hearts of our Nation, as that Idol of Dragon, a foolish Loyalty, a better Course for its Honour and Preservation had been taken in Time.* The Deputy believed the Crime to be so apparent, and of such a Nature, that what Accomplices so ever he might have, none would have the Courage to appear in his behalf, and that he might give the Clergy an Opportunity to shew their Zeal in a Business that so much concerned their common Safety, he referred the Examination of the Fryar to the Bishops, (whereof there were Three or Four in Town) and to some other of the Principal of the Clergy, and appointed them to require him to produce the Cypher, which he had used, and to examine him to whom the Letters were intended, they being directed to Counterfeit and Suppositious Names. The Cypher was produced accordingly, and thereby many Expressions in the Letter appeared full of Neglect and Reproach of the King and others, of Insolency, and contumely towards the Lord Deputy, *they mentioned little Hopes was left of Relief from the Duke of Lorraine, and that they resolved to send one to treat with the Rebels, and had found a private Means of conveying one to that Purpose.* The Fryar promised to use all his Diligence to dispose the Catholicks, to have a good Opinion of the Independents, and made some Requests concerning himself. All that he alledged for his Defence was, that the Letters written by him, were to one who was imployed by the Court of Rome, that he had no ill meaning against the King or Deputy, and that

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that himself had a Trust from *Rome*, and Instructions from the Secretary of the Congregation, *de propaganda fide*, and the Bishops certified, that they had seen the Instructions, and that they did not relate at all to the Temporal State, and this was all the Satisfaction, and all the Justice the Deputy could procure, though he wrote several Letters of Expostulation to the Bishops thereupon; and whether this be any Part of the Priviledges, and Immunities of the Catholick *Roman Church*, and enjoyed in any Catholick Country, and whether it can be indulged to them in any other Country, where the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is not submitted unto, we must leave to the World to judge and determine. And if *Protestant* Kings and Princes are severe, and provident for the Prevention of such Practices, and for the establishing of their own Security, it must not be imputed to an unseasonable Jealousie, or a Prejudice to the *Roman Catholick Religion*, but to the unreasonable Presumption of those Men, who have pretended Religion for their Warrant, or Excuse for the most unlawful, and most unjustifiable Actions.

*A good  
Caution.*

This was the Obedience and Submission they paid to the King's Authority and Government; let us now see what Government they provided for themselves, and what Course they who were still jealous of being betrayed by those who were intrusted by the King took for their own Security and Preservation, and what Power the Bishops and Clergy had to support their own Interest and Dignity after they appeared to have enough to destroy or suppress that of the King.

*The Consequences of  
the Disobedience and  
Disloyalty  
of the Irish  
Clergy.*

The City of *Lymerick* was intirely governed by the Clergy; how it rejected the first Peace in the Year 1646, affronted the Herald, the King at Arms when he came to proclaim it, wounded and turned

turned out the Mayor, and chose *Dominick Fanning* the Captain of that Tumult and Outrage, Mayor in his Place, and how it submitted to the good Will and Pleasure of the Nuncio thereupon, is before remembred. How it behaved it self to the Marquess of *Ormond* as to the second Peace, and after it had promised to receive a Garrison, how Father *Wolfe* a Fryar, raised a Mutiny, upon which, they refused to receive or to admit the Lord Lieutenant into the Town, when upon their own Invitation he was come even into their own Gates, is likewise before set down. Contrary to their own Obligation and solemn Promise, they continued the same Obstinacy to the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, refused to receive such a Governour and Garrison as he thought fit to give them, or to receive himself into the Town with the Power and Authority of Deputy, after he had assumed that Title upon their own Importunity and promise of Obedience. However, he sent such Men both Officers and Soldiers as they desired, and no other; let us see the Success.

Lymerick  
besieged.

As soon as *Ireton* came before it, and before they were press'd with any Want, they began to discourse of treating with the Rebels. All the Considerations of what they might undergo hereafter occurred to them, and the Improbability of their receiving any Succour proportionable to their Wants, yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known that *Ireton* would except very many principal Persons among them to whom no Mercy should be shew'd, nor could they expect any Conditions for the Exercise of their Religion they had been so jealous of. The Governour had only Power to set the Watch, but the Mayor kept the Keys, and had many of the principal Officers at his Devotion. Upon the 23<sup>d</sup> Day of *October*, a mix'd Council of Officers, and

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of those of the Civil Government, met in the Town-House, to consult what was to be done in Order to a Treaty with the Enemy; and after a long Debate, it was concluded by the major Part, *that they would proceed to a Treaty, and that they would not break it off upon Exception of any Person for Quarter or Confiscation of their Goods; The next Day was appointed for choosing the Commissioners to be sent unto the Rebels, and the Result of Yesterday's Debate being known in the Town, they no sooner met for the Election of the Commissioners, than the Bishops of Lymerick and Emly with the Clergy came to the Town-house, and threatened to issue out an Excommunication against them, if they proceeded in those Counsels. The Effect whereof would be to deliver up the Prelates to be slaughtered.* Notwithstanding which, they proceeded to the naming of the Persons, who should treat for them. Whereupon the Bishops published their Excommunication with a perpetual Interdict of the City, which was fixed on the Doors of all the Churches and Chapels in the Town; but alas! those Fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used, to retain any Virtue in Time of Need, as Catholick as the Town was (and there was not one Protestant in it) the Excommunication took no Effect. But that very Night, Colonel Fennell, and the Officers of the Combination who press'd on the Treaty, possess themselves of St. John's Gate and Tower, and drove the Guards from thence; when Major General O Neil (who had the Title of Governor of the Town) came thither, and demanded by what Authority they were there, he having given them Orders to guard another Quarter of the Town; they answered, *the best of the Town knew and approved of what they did.* It was very true, the Mayor was of the Party, and delivered the Keys of the Port,

*A Party in it, resolve to surrender.*

*Whereupon the Bishops publish an Excommunication, but in vain.*

*Colonel Fennell seizes St. John's Gate and Tower.*

to

Their  
shameful  
Capitula-  
tion.

to Colonel *Fennell*, though he had denied it to the other Party that opposed the Treaty. The Governor called a Council of War; and sent for *Fennell* before them, who refused to come, and being supplied with Powder from the Mayor, he turned the Cannon upon the Town, and declared, that he would not quit the Place that he was possess'd of, till the City should be yielded to the Enemy; the Commissioners were sent out to *Ireton*, who would give no other Conditions, than that *the Garrison should lay down their Arms, the Officers retaining their Swords, and to march to what place they would, except only those exempted from Mercy* (who of the Soldiers and Citizens, amounted to the Number of Twenty Four.) *The Inhabitants had Three Months Time assigned them to transport their Persons, and Three Months more to remove their Goods, within any Place of the Kingdom appointed, in which they might live.* It cannot be believed those unequal and severe Conditions would have been accepted from any Army, not strong enough to have imposed upon a People unwilling to have submitted to them, and in a Season of the Year, that alone would have secured a Place provided for Resistance (for it was now the end of *October*, or beginning of *November*) but that Colonel *Fennell* the same Night those hard Demands were sent into the Town, received into *St. John's Gate* and Tower two hundred Men from *Ireton*, and the other were removed into another Fort, call'd *Price's Mill*, where after they had continued about two Days, and the People of the Town not yet agreeing what they would do, a Drum was sent through the City, commanding all manner of Soldiers in Pay in the Town to repair to our *Lady's Church*, and there to lay down their Arms, which was immediately obey'd; and the Soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the Town, *Ireton* march'd

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march'd in, and was without any Contradiction quietly possess'd of all he desired, causing as many of the excepted Persons as could be found to be committed to Prison.

In this manner was the City of *Lymerick* defended by the *Catholick Irish*, and this Obedience did the Prelates, and the Clergy in their Need, receive from those over whom they had Power enough to seduce from the Duty they owed the King, and from submitting to his Authority, and now was the Harvest when they gathered the Fruit of all their Labourers. The Instances of Se-

*The Rebels  
exercise  
their usual  
Cruelty.*

verity and Blood, which the Rebels gave upon their being possess'd of this Place were very remarkable: The Bishop of *Lymerick*, by Dexterity and good Fortune, either by marching out among the common Soldiers, or concealing himself with some faithful Friend in the Town, (which is not so probable) escaped their Hands, who manifested enough what his Condition would have been by the Treatment, which they gave to the Bishop of *Emely* whom they took, and without any formality of Justice, and with all Reproaches imaginable caused him to be publicly hanged.

This unhappy Prelate had, from the beginning, opposed with the greatest Passion the King's Authority, and most obstinately adhered to the Nuncio, and to that Party still, which was most averse from returning to their Allegiance, and was miserably and ignominiously put to Death by those who were equal Enemies to the King, and in that City wherein he had been a principal Instrument to shut out the King's Authority. It may be remembred in the former Part of this Discourse, that when the King at Arms proclaimed the first Peace in *Lymerick*, in the Year, 1646. one *Dominick Fanning* a Citizen of this Town rais'd a Mutiny, and led on that Rabble, which committed

*Bishop of  
Emely  
hanged.*

*The Fate of  
Domi-  
nick Fan-  
ning the  
Rioter.*

mitted that Violence on the Herald himself and wounded the Mayor, and was made Mayor in his place by the Nuncio, and so kept the Town in Rebellion. The same Man continued the same Spirit against his Majesty's Authority, and always opposed the receiving of a Garrison, when after the last Peace the Lord Lieutenant so often, and so earnestly, press'd the same as the only means to preserve the City. This *Dominick Fanning* being one of those 24 which *Ireton* had excepted, found a way among the common Soldiers to get out of the Town; notwithstanding all the Diligence that they used to discover him; when he was free and in safety, he returned to the Town to fetch some Money that he had privately hid, and to make some Provision for his Subsistence, which he had not Time to do before. But going to his own Wife she refused to receive him, or to assist him with any Thing, whereupon he departed, and after he had walked up and down the Streets some time, the Weather being extreemly cold, he went to the main Guard, where was a good Fire, and being discovered to be a Stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confess'd, that he was *Dominick Fanning*, for whom such strict search had been made; he was apprehended, and the next Morning carried before the Governor, and immediately hanged.

There were two other Examples no less memorable, in which two other notorious Persons were concerned, who had borne unhappy Parts in that City, when the Marquess of *Ormond* had so often, and in vain press'd *Lymerick* to receive a Garrison, and the Commissioners of trust had used all their Persuasions and Authority to the same purpose. The Rebels Army being so near, that 'twas believed, they intended to sit down before it, the Council sent two of the Aldermen to invite the Lord

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Lieutenant thither, being within less than a Days Journey of the City. How he was used when he came almost to the Gates, it is before remembered, and how the same Aldermen were sent out to inform him, that there was a Mutiny raised to hinder his being received, and till that was appeased or composed, he was advised to forbear approaching nearer. That Mutiny was raised by one *Wolfe* a Fryar, who persuaded the simple People, that the receiving the Lord Lieutenant would be a great Prejudice to their Religion, which with the Countenance of Alderman *Thomas Stretch*, who was then Mayor of the City, easily raised the Tumult, that caused the Gates to be shut, when he was ready to enter. This Alderman, and that Fryar were both taken, upon the Surrender of *Lymrick*, and without any formality of Justice, hanged by those, who (but by them) would never in probability have been Masters of the Town. Lastly, This very Colonel *Fennell*, who by possessing himself of the Port, and turning the Cannon upon the Town, betrayed the Place to the Rebels, though he had for the present the Benefit of the Articles, was within few Months after taken by them; and without any Consideration of his late Merit hanged, as the rest had been: In a Word, all those who had been the first Causers and Raisers of the Rebellion, or who with most Malice and Obstinacy, opposed their return to the King's Obedience, and had the misfortune to fall into the Rebels Hands, as the Bishop of *Raffoe*, who was taken and hanged by the Lord *Brogbill*, *Jeffery Baron* who kept *Waterford* from receiving the Lord Lieutenant, taken afterwards at *Lymrick*, and hanged there, and many others were made the Examples of unusual Rigour by the Rebels, and are such Monuments of Calamity as are not frequently met with in Story and ought to be revolved by the Survivors upon a

And of Alderman  
*Stretch*,  
and Fryar  
*Wolf*.

And even  
Col. *Fennell*, by  
whose Treachery the  
Rebels were  
possessed of  
The City.

Others  
murder'd  
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stances of  
God's Jus-  
tice, but  
their Cru-  
elty.

just and pious Recollection of God's wonderful Proceedings against them.

Ireton's  
insulting  
summons  
to the Town  
of Gallway

His Death.

Gallway  
desires the  
Protection  
of the Lord  
Deputy.

The Business of *Lymerick* being thus over, *Ireton* within a few Days after, and without drawing his Army nearer than the Castle of *Clare*, sent a most insolent Summons to the Town of *Gallway*, wishing them to put him to no more Trouble, lest they fared as *Lymerick* did; adding such other Threats as he thought most like to make impression upon them: And a great Impression they did make. But by the Death of *Ireton* they had a little Respite, the Rebels not being so intirely united under Command as before, and then the Town of *Gallway* addressed themselves to the Lord Deputy, and desired his Assistance, promising all Obedience to his Majesty's Authority in him; nor was he so much discouraged by their former Carriage, and their having accepted the Articles made with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and their declaring him to be their Protector without ever communicating it to the Lord Deputy, as to decline having further to do with them. But upon the first Address to him, he sent his Secretary to them with some Directions, and shortly after went himself thither, having summoned such of the Nobility, Prelates, and principal Gentry, as could with Safety repair thither, to consult what might yet be done for their Defence: They having Men enough still dispersed in several Parties to resist the Enemy, if they were drawn together and united among themselves: And the Town of *Gallway* was so good a Port, that any Supplies or Succours might come from abroad to them.

But on appearance of  
a Party of  
the Rebels  
desire to  
Capitulate.

All Disputes upon Commands being quickly composed among the Rebels, a small Party was sent under the Command of Sir *Charles Coote* to streighten *Gallway*, which wrought so far upon the Assembly there, that they importuned the Deputy

to give them leave to send to the Commander in Chief of the Rebels, for a safe Conduct for their Commissioners to treat for some Conditions for the Nation, upon which they might submit to the Government of the Parliament, Professing, that they would in the mean time make such Preparation for their Defence, that if the Parliament would not give them good and ample Conditions, they would sell themselves at such a dear Rate, as should make their Conquest of very little use to the Enemy. But when they found, they could not have so much as a safe Conduct sent for the Commissioners, nor could be admitted so much as to treat for the Nation, but only that particular Places, and Persons might be admitted to compound for themselves, on such Terms as others had done; their Spirits failed them, and after a very little Deliberation, and before they put the Rebels to the trouble of besieging them, without so much as consulting the Lord Deputy, or asking his leave (although he was less than half a Days Journey of the Town,) they entred into a Treaty, and in a short time after, surrender'd the Town into the Hands of the Rebels, who were amazed to see, upon what easy Terms, they parted with their last Town, having still in loose Parties over the Kingdom, more Men in Arms to have defended, than the English could have brought against it.

*The Town  
surrender'd.*

The Marquess of Clanrickard did not leave the Kingdom in many Months after the surrender of this Town, but endeavoured by all Means possible to draw the scattered Forces together, that he might once fight the Rebels. But at last, after he had endeavoured in vain, and had received his Majesty's Commands, to take Care of his own Security, and that he fell not into the Rebels Hands; after he saw those, upon whose publick Fidelity, and private Affection, he depended as much as upon any, fall every Day from him, and submit to the Rebels,

*Marquess  
of Clan-  
rickard at  
last forced  
to leave the  
Kingdom.*

upon such Conditions as did hardly assure them of Life at the best; having only Liberty to transport themselves to the Service of such Foreign Princes, as the Rebels believed to be their Friends; and after he was reduced to those Streights, that he durst not reside 24 Hours in one Place, for fear of being betrayed, and delivered up into the Hands of the Rebels, and having no Port to be his Friend, where a Vessel might attend to transport him, he was in the end compelled to ask a Pass from the Rebels, which they willingly and readily sent to him, and which he accepted without making any other Conditions for himself, than that he might for some time remain secure in their Quarters, without taking the Oath usually imposed by them, and afterwards had Liberty to transport himself into Parts beyond the Sea. Whereas, had he demanded a good Proportion to be allowed out of his own great Estate, and promised to have given them no further Trouble. it is probable, they would have consented to it: But the Integrity and Greatness of his Heart would not suffer him to enjoy any Thing by the Favour and Permission of those, whose Destruction he desired, and meant always to prosecute; and so he transported himself in a Vessel belonging to the Rebels out of *Ireland*, about *March or April 1652*, after he had borne the Title of the King's Deputy of that Kingdom little more than two Years, with very little more Obedience from the *Catholick Irish*, than had before been paid to the Lord Lieutenant.

This was the Fate of that unhappy Nation, both under *Protestant* and *Roman Catholick* Governors, and as the *Catholick* Governors and all other *Catholicks* over whom he had Power; and indeed very many of the principal *Catholicks* of that Kingdom, had, once paid all Obedience due to the Lord Lieutenant, while he remained amongst them; so the same Persons who most opposed him,

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and croit and hindered submission to his Orders, and would have Religion believed the Cause of the Disobedience he found in the People, proved as inconvenient and refractory to the Catholick Governour; the same Corporations continued the same Disobedience to the latter, as well as to the former. The same Clergy and Prelates supported and encouraged them in it, and as if the publick Calamity and Judgments, and the particular Fate which hath befallen many of their Friends had made no impression upon their Spirits; they have transported their Uncharitableness and Animosity, to keep them Company in their Banishment; and the same Persons continue their Virulency and Bitterness one against another, justify all their Proceedings, which have been the Ground-work of theirs, and their Countrey's Destruction, and of almost the extirpation of the Catholick Religion out of that Kingdom, and yet are so extreemly blinded with their Passion, that they hope to be thought to suffer upon the Impulsion of Conscience, and for the *Roman* Catholick Religion; and which is more strange, for their Allegiance and Loyalty to the King; they would be believed to be the most obedient Subjects to the King and the most zealous Assertors of the Royal Power; and at the same time, justify and magnify the Proceedings of the Nuncio, reproach those Catholicks that adhered to the Lord Lieutenant, and to the Peace made by the Nation as excommunicated Persons; and all the other Acts done afterwards by the Clergy, without the least shadow of Law or Gospel to support them.

Having drawn this Discourse into greater length, than in the beginning, I thought I should have had occasion to have done; I shall conclude with that earnest Desire with which I began, that the small seduced Number of that unhappy Nation, which continue in the same Errors they began,  
and

*The Conclusion.*

and preserve in building upon such Foundations as can support no Structure of the Catholick Religion or Loyalty, would seriously revolve what they have done; what that Nation enjoy'd before the late Rebellion, and the State into which they are now fallen, how much they have trespass'd against the Laws of God and the Laws of the Kingdom, in kindling that Fire that hath consumed all their Habitations, and is not yet extinguish'd, nor can be, but by their real Acknowledgment and Repentance; let them remember, they are Subjects to a *Protestant* King, and in a Kingdom where the *Protestant* Religion is by the Law established, and the *Roman Catholick* at the best only tolerated; and how incongruous a Thing it is, and destructive to their own Ends, to have it believed, that their Religion doth oblige or prompt them to any Actions repugnant to the Loyalty they owe to their King, or to that Obedience, without which the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preserv'd; let them be so modest, as not to affect to be thought better Catholicks, than those of their own Country, who differ from them in the Professions they made, and are much Superior to them in Quality and Number; at least, let them not be thought to profess another Faith, than what the Catholick Church owns and acknowledges, and hold themselves oblig'd by their Religion, to do that as *Irish* Catholicks, or to justify it (when they have done it) which *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French* Catholicks (whose Religion is supported by their Law, and the other condemned) would hold sinful to do, though they had the Pope's Authority and Command for every individual Act. Do the Prelates of the *French* Church believe themselves qualified to excommunication Marshal *Turenne*, because he is not a *Roman* Catholick, and is thought to be an Enemy to that Profession? Or can they absolve his Soldiers from

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from Obedience to him, while the *French King* makes him General of the Army? and what would the most Christian King do, if his Prelates should presume to exercise that Jurisdiction? If the Catholick, of *Catalonia* return unto their Allegiance, upon Articles of Indemnity from their King, and any Nuncio should inhibit them to submit to those Articles, as not ample enough for their Security, would the King of *Spain* be well pleased with that Presumption, or excuse those Subjects, who out of Terrour of such an Excommunication should fall from that Duty they had newly profess'd to him, or, who sought Absolution for not submitting to it? Will the Republick of *Venice*, or any Prince of *Italy*, suffer their Subjects to pay such an Obedience to St. *Peter's Chair*, or will they distinguish Proceedings against their Subjects in such a spiritual Rebellion, and those who raise Arms, seize their Forts, or conspire the Death of their Sovereign? If none of these Catholick Nations are liable to those Obligations, nor can enjoy those Privileges, how came the Subjects of *Ireland* to be possessed of them, and the King of *Ireland* to be so much below his other Brethren, Christian Monarchs? If their Religion will not allow the same Obedience to be paid to him, it is an ill Argument to induce him to be gracious to that Religion. Away then with the Antichristian Spirit of defending what hath been done amiss, only because it hath been done; and discrediting the Catholick Religion, as if it would not suffer its Children to be dutiful and Loyal Subjects to *Protestant Kings* and Princes; and let what was done in the beginning, and progress of the Rebellion against the Elements of Christianity, be acknowledged and repented before God, and no more justified to the World, and what was done in Violation of the Laws and Government, be acknowledged and excused to the King

King by the Distemper and Accidents of the Times, and the unjustifiable Proceedings of those, who were unhappily intrusted with the Administration of Justice and Polity without defending them by such Principles, as must leave the Laws in Danger always to be invaded by the same Licence. Away with that uncharitable and undermining Spirit of Jealousy against the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and the Professors of it, by owning and professing an Incapacity of living charitably and peaceably with those, who are not of the same Faith, and those whose Professions is established, and cherished by the Laws of the Land, the Indulgence whereof others desire and expect; and of raising Enemies to a Nation, by avowing any National Distrust, and Dislike of any who have been for so many Ages incorporated with them, under the same Obligation of Religion or Allegiance; and let there be a joint Endeavour and Emulation, to justify and commend their several Professions of distinct Faiths, by producing the unquestionable Effects of true Religion, in the Piety and Sanctity of their Lives towards God, the Duty and Obedience of their Actions towards the King, and Kindness and Peaceableness of their Conversation each to other, and all their Fellow-Subjects: Lastly, away with that immodest and rude Spirit of Reproaching, and Reviling those, who by Extraction, Quality and Interest, are their Superiors, and have been or shall be placed by the King, in any Degree of Government, or Command over them; since the Duty due unto Kings and Princes includes Respect and Reverence towards their Deputies and Ministers of Trust; and let such Civility of Address, and Decency of Language be used to them, as may dispose them to a temperate and candid hearing of their Desires and Complaints at least, that a just Prejudice against their Manners, may

may not bring a fatal Prejudice upon their Profession and Pretences. In a Word, let them believe, that any Virulency, Bitterness, and Distemper of Language, is not the Plaister of *Isaiab* to heal the Wound, but of *Hezekiah* to make it run, though it were healed before ; and let them make a sanctified use of what they have done and suffered ; of what they have heard, and what they have seen ; that they may not fall under that Curse of our Saviour himself ; *That seeing they might see, and not perceive ; and hearing they might hear, and not understand ; lest at any Time, they should be converted, and their Sins should be forgiven them.*



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